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Doctoral researchers abroad: negotiating language and identity in a multilingual context

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Abstract

This research explores how language and identity are negotiated by study abroad doctoral researchers originally from China, Brazil, Iran and Ukraine whilst studying in France. The research questions investigated the language choices made in the contexts encountered by the SA doctoral researchers, how these choices were negotiated and the potential impacts of the use of both French and English on their identities.

To address the three research questions posed in this study I have used a case study framework to explore the SA doctoral researchers' use of language, their possibilities of negotiation of language choice as well as how these experiences impact their identities using both emic and etic perspectives. A framework was developed from the literature review, using Bourdieu's concepts of social and linguistic capital as well as habitus. Byram's work on intercultural awareness was also of relevance, as was Lave and Wenger's legitimate peripheral participation. For identity the Block, Norton and Ting-Toomey's work provided a framework. A series of three semi-structured interviews were undertaken with SA doctoral researchers on an individual basis as the main research method, research with further individual interviews with supervisors to explore the questions from another perspective. Other methods included questionnaires and observations of language use in context.

The findings show the uses and potential linguistic capital for both English and French often vary depending on the community, affecting access, even with the same members participating and impacting on identities. This can influence the investment of the participants in both languages and ultimately their experience in France. To improve participation SA doctoral researchers should learn a minimum of the local language prior to undertaking three years of study in a non-English-speaking country. Investment in social English for local and study abroad doctoral researchers could contribute to better understanding through third space and communication.

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In France I would like to thank Nadia for her support and encouragement, the gatekeepers who accepted my project being undertaken at their institute, as well as the SA doctoral researchers and supervisors who gave their time for my study.

Declaration of Authorship

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where otherwise acknowledged, the work presented is entirely my own.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	III
DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VI
LIST OF FIGURES	XI
LIST OF TABLES	XII
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	XIV
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The experience of studying abroad.....	1
1.2 Presentation of my research	3
1.2.1 <i>Aims and objectives</i>	4
1.2.2 <i>Research questions</i>	5
1.2.3 <i>The research context</i>	6
1.2.4 <i>My role at the institute</i>	7
1.2.5 <i>Perceived problems in practice</i>	7
1.2.6 <i>Research groups</i>	8
1.3 SA doctoral researchers in France	9
1.3.1 <i>Participant SA doctoral researchers</i>	10
1.3.2 <i>SA doctoral researchers' language use in their home countries</i>	12
1.4 Supervisors	13
1.5 Overall organisation of the thesis.....	15
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	18
2.1 Study abroad	19
2.2 Socialisation.....	20
2.2.1 <i>Language choices</i>	22
2.2.2 <i>The use of French</i>	23
2.2.3 <i>The use of English</i>	26
2.2.4 <i>Negotiation of language choices</i>	29
2.2.5 <i>Potential impact on professional development</i>	30
2.2.6 <i>Legitimate Peripheral Participation</i>	31
2.2.7 <i>Social contacts</i>	33
2.2.8 <i>Support networks</i>	36

2.2.9 <i>Potential career impact</i>	36
2.3 Sociocultural theory	37
2.4 Sociocultural and intercultural competence	39
2.4.1 <i>Communicative competence</i>	40
2.4.2 <i>Intercultural Communicative Competence</i>	41
2.4.3 <i>Intercultural awareness</i>	42
2.4.4 <i>Third space</i>	43
2.4.5 <i>Language assumptions in a second language context</i>	44
2.5 Identity	45
2.5.1 <i>SA doctoral researcher identities</i>	47
2.5.2 <i>Migrant identities and SA doctoral researchers</i>	48
2.5.3 <i>Multilingual identities and study abroad</i>	52
2.5.4 <i>Stigma</i>	53
2.6 Summary	53
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY	55
3.1 Epistemology, ontology and positionality	55
3.2 Frameworks	56
3.2.1 <i>Case study framework</i>	56
3.2.2 <i>Ethnographic approach</i>	57
3.2.3 <i>Other theories in the research design</i>	59
3.2.4 <i>Other research approaches considered</i>	60
3.3 Participants	61
3.3.1 <i>Abelino</i>	61
3.3.2 <i>Korosh</i>	62
3.3.3 <i>Alex</i>	63
3.3.4 <i>Manon</i>	63
3.3.5 <i>Cong</i>	64
3.3.6 <i>Chao</i>	65
3.3.7 <i>Carlitos</i>	65
3.3.8 <i>Participants and languages</i>	66
3.4 Layout of offices and laboratories	67
3.5 Ethics	68
3.6 Data collection, questionnaires, interviews, laboratory observations and e-mails	69
3.6.1 <i>Improvements from pilot study</i>	69
3.6.2 <i>Methods of data collection</i>	70
3.6.3 <i>Questionnaires</i>	73

3.6.4	<i>Responses to the questionnaire</i>	74
3.7	Data analysis process	80
3.7.1	<i>Thematic analysis</i>	80
3.8	Summary	86
CHAPTER 4 LANGUAGE CHOICE AND NEGOTIATION IN MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS		87
4.1	Research question 1	87
4.1.1	<i>Contexts for language choices</i>	87
4.1.2	<i>Professional language choice at the institute</i>	92
4.1.3	<i>English outside the professional context</i>	94
4.1.4	<i>French</i>	95
4.1.5	<i>Respect and sociocultural variations</i>	96
4.1.6	<i>English and home languages in science</i>	98
4.1.7	<i>Restrictions on language choice</i>	100
4.1.8	<i>Motivation</i>	101
4.2	Discussion	103
4.2.1	<i>English as a lingua franca</i>	103
4.2.2	<i>French</i>	106
4.2.3	<i>Home languages</i>	107
4.2.4	<i>The implications of language choices</i>	108
4.3	Research question 2	110
4.3.1	<i>Overview</i>	111
4.3.2	<i>Negotiating understanding in a professional context</i>	112
4.3.3	<i>Initiation to French</i>	115
4.3.4	<i>Negotiating understanding in social interaction at the institute</i>	116
4.3.5	<i>Investment in French</i>	119
4.4	Discussion	124
4.4.1	<i>The professional context</i>	124
4.4.2	<i>The social context at the institute</i>	125
4.4.3	<i>Third space</i>	126
4.4.4	<i>Translanguaging and negotiation</i>	127
4.4.5	<i>Cultural awareness and respect</i>	128
4.4.6	<i>Competences in English</i>	130
4.4.7	<i>Speech communities</i>	131
4.5	Summary	132
CHAPTER 5 IMPACTS OF LANGUAGE USE ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES		133

5.1.1 Overview	133
5.1.2 Identities within the institute	134
5.1.3 Identities outside the institute	143
5.2 Discussion	146
5.2.1 Within the institute	146
5.2.2 Isolation, acceptance and identities	148
5.2.3 Translanguaging and identity	154
5.2.4 Motivation for target languages and cultures	155
5.2.5 Living in France	156
5.3 Summary	157
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	158
6.1 Key findings	159
6.1.1 Language choice	159
6.1.2 Negotiating language choice	160
6.1.3 Implications for identities	161
6.2 Contributions to research	162
6.3 Recommendations	163
6.3.1 Preparation prior to arriving in France	163
6.3.2 Social isolation	164
6.3.3 Communicative competences for French and English	166
6.4 Strengths and limitations	168
6.4.1 Methodology	168
6.4.2 Emic and etic positions	169
6.5 Suggested further research	170
6.5.1 Language choice	170
6.5.2 SA doctoral researchers and their well-being	171
6.6 Summary	171
REFERENCES	172
APPENDICES	185
Appendix A - Consent forms	185
Appendix B – Coding and interview	188
Appendix C - Questionnaires – researchers	228
Appendix D - Laboratory observations	230
Appendix E - e-mails	232
Appendix F - Interview questions – supervisor	234
Appendix G - Original themes	235
Appendix H - Major themes	247

Appendix I - Participants' comments..... 259

Appendix J - Domain Loss 260

Appendix K - Recommendations 261

Appendix L - James Coleman permission..... 262

List of figures

Figure 1 Office layout.....	67
Figure 2 SA doctoral researchers previous English lessons	74
Figure 3 Home countries. Number of students in classes	76
Figure 4 Doctoral researcher contexts	88
Figure 5 Social networks of study abroad students, Coleman (2013).....	91

List of tables

Table 1 Emic and etic positions	59
Table 2 Participants and languages	66
Table 3 Data collection.....	70
Table 4 SA doctoral researchers previous English lessons	74
Table 5 Country of English studies	75
Table 6 Academic writing	77
Table 7 Ideas on presenting information	77
Table 8 Activities using English.....	77
Table 9 Professional language choice with colleagues	78
Table 10 Language use	79
Table 11 Other languages spoken	79

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CC	Communicative Competence
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
HCE	Host country employees
IA	Intercultural Awareness
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence
INT	Identity Negotiation Theory
LPP	Legitimate Peripheral Participation
MKO	More Knowledgeable Other
NEFSB	Non-English or French-Speaking Background
SA	Study Abroad
SCT	Sociocultural Theory
TC	Target Culture
TL	Target Language
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

Chapter 1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to explore the experiences of study abroad (SA) doctoral researchers in science undertaking their studies in France. As a result of the need for English and French for their work and studies as well as French and their home country language for other communication, they require at least three languages to communicate in various contexts during their stay. This research explored the language choices that they made as well as how they were able to negotiate two additional languages in addition to their PhD studies. I also considered the impact this context could have on their identity.

1.1 The experience of studying abroad

The experiences of SA students and doctoral researchers, whether looking at linguistic or other aspects of their stay, have generated a certain amount of research in recent years. Contrary to most research into study abroad which has looked at the experiences of students studying language courses in their own and the host country (Jackson, 2016), this research focuses on those studying science. A further difference is that this research was not undertaken in an English-speaking country, exploring experiences of SA doctoral researchers studying in France. As a result, they are confronted by not only English, as is the case for the students in an English-speaking environment, but also French, although the languages are required in different contexts. Various linguistic and cultural competences in both English and French, ranging from their use for their studies, work and social interactions are required for successful communication. In addition, day to day activities such as shopping or dealing with the health service are also essential for the SA doctoral researchers. Furthermore, individual contact with their university or other researchers in their home country, undertaken in their home language, may be part of their studies.

The SA doctoral researchers' length of stay is also an unusual aspect of this research. This is generally for a period of three years as a whole-programme study abroad, with only infrequent visits home due to limited time and as well as the expense. Visits to France from family or friends from their home country are also rare, often due to the expense or available time for the families. While studies of long stay students from abroad have been undertaken, many have looked at much shorter periods. The purpose of the visit is often a linguistic and cultural

experience for the participants rather than extended study in other subjects. The age of the students is often younger than in my study, as well as a difference in their level of study.

Another variation from many other studies is the fact that the SA doctoral researchers in my research arrived alone and as a result lacked the direct support and shared experiences through their network from home. In contrast, linguistic exchanges are often undertaken in a group, as was the case again in Jackson's study, allowing for the possibility of mutual support and shared experiences. In addition, the SA doctoral researchers in my research are involved in commercial research, with the institute bidding for contracts in paid commercial research studies. As a result the SA doctoral researchers work towards commercially viable results for companies that are funding the research as well as their studies. Consequently, the SA doctoral researchers have a role as a worker, required to produce results for their customers rather than only studying as a student, and is a first professional experience for many doctoral researchers at the institute. Being a competence needed for their chosen career, this is part of their professional development. However, they will also experience further challenges, with the need to develop as independent researchers. As can be seen from the competences they need to develop, there are many challenges and changes in the lives and identities for the SA doctoral researchers. As a result of these combined aspects of my study, I feel that it has a real contribution to make in understanding a complex context that is experienced by a growing number of individuals from many different backgrounds.

This research therefore focuses on doctoral researchers studying in France who have neither an English or French-speaking background, but require both for their work and studies as well as their daily lives in France. English is required for academic reading and writing as well as communicating with other researchers internationally. French however, in addition to everyday communication as the language of the country, is also required under French law for academic purposes. This particularity of studying in France is discussed in the sections 1.3, a general presentation of the SA doctoral researchers in France and 2.2.2 looking more closely at the French perception of the role of language as well as legal requirements for the use of French in academia in France.

During their stay in France, SA doctoral researchers encounter at least three distinct spoken language contexts. The first context is professional in which the use of English is generally acceptable with other researchers at the institute within a working context. Nevertheless, French is appreciated if the researcher is able to use it to communicate and certain technicians in the laboratories may insist on the use of French. The second context is still within the institute, but during breaks, a time when more social networks may be built, although French is the common language for most staff. For all other activities in France communication seems to be almost exclusively in the language of the country, French.

1.2 Presentation of my research

I was interested in undertaking this research as I have been involved with the institute for some years with researchers and French-speaking and SA doctoral researchers. The assistance they request may concentrate on any aspect of their work that requires the use of English. My original idea for my research project was to work with only Chinese-speaking SA doctoral researchers in France, looking specifically at their academic writing.

This choice to research academic writing in English for Chinese-speaking doctoral researchers studying for a PhD in France was made after research I had undertaken for my EMA for my Masters in Education with The Open University. The research itself looked at the generic stages the researcher required, using a mind map to construct the text. I worked with a Chinese-speaking doctoral researcher at the same institute that I have worked with for this research. Although the research was based on generic stages for a research article, we continued to work together to complete the article looking at other aspects of the writing that were difficult for her. This work was very successful, resulting in publication as well as being a fulfilling learning experience for us both.

However, during the pilot study it became apparent that certain issues surrounding language use more generally impacted greatly on the SA doctoral researcher in a variety of contexts. Working only on the effective use of English with these individuals, I had not considered these factors before, and a preliminary literature search showed very little research undertaken in this area of education. As a result, my research focus started to move away from academic writing and towards language and identity within the communities they encountered during their study abroad. This shift then led me to look at the potential language and

culture barriers generally for SA doctoral researchers and not just those from China. The reason behind this decision was despite having originally intended to undertake my research with Chinese-speaking doctoral researchers, the number of SA doctoral researchers, not necessarily from China, is an important aspect of the institute in question. I felt that the multilingual and multicultural environment where these researchers are welcomed was better reflected through research looking at more than one nationality. This research therefore looks at the experiences of SA doctoral researchers from China, Brazil, Ukraine and Iran, allowing a mix of languages and cultures to be studied. The change of focus led me to consider the researchers' individual experiences of their SA in France, encountering the same context despite having different backgrounds.

1.2.1 Aims and objectives

In choosing to undertake this research I aimed to give a voice to the SA doctoral researchers to express their feelings in order to understand the challenges and potential barriers during their stay in France as a result of the languages and cultures they encountered. Contact with both English and French language and cultural contexts frequently occur at the establishment, and can be with the same individuals. Therefore language choice in the varying contexts they encountered was an important area to consider, as well as the reasons and constraints that existed around these choices. One objective was to raise awareness with other members of the institute of the complex linguistic issues and potential barriers faced by the SA doctoral researchers. A further objective was to inform my teaching to improve my work for the benefit of the SA and French-speaking doctoral researchers as well as the supervisors. I wished to improve support for the SA doctoral researchers through greater understanding of the potential impact on their identities over the period of the three years they were in the country.

I also aimed to enrich both the experience of future SA doctoral researchers at the institute as well as the contribution they are able to make to the institute for the international researchers who work and study there. Research at this institute is often undertaken in collaboration with researchers in establishments situated abroad. Therefore the creation and strengthening of links between these establishments should be encouraged through the experiences of study abroad. As future international researchers they are therefore a resource both for the duration of their study and for future collaboration.

1.2.2 Research questions

Contact with both English and French language and culture frequently occurred in different contexts although possibly with the same individuals. Within the context of their research work, English could be considered as a denationalised language (Ilieva, 2012), or third space (Kramsch, 2011) being used for international cooperation for research within an international setting, one they would encounter elsewhere in the world. The English required for this context generally is that of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), whereas the French language encompasses linguistic skills for communication in what are often more diverse social contexts.

The following research questions were developed for the reasons presented below:

1. What influences the choice of language for the researchers in a multilingual context?

The purpose of this question was to explore how the choice of language was made by or for the SA doctoral researcher. The context was known to be multilingual, with many different languages spoken by the staff at the institute. I wished to explore which language or languages were used when, what criteria influenced this choice and whether this choice varied in any way.

2. How do study abroad researchers negotiate between the two languages they require for their study abroad?

The SA doctoral researchers encountered various language contexts during their study abroad. The aim of this question was to look at what potential barriers the SA doctoral researchers may encounter and how they negotiated languages in diverse contexts to create effective communication. Professionally they needed to negotiate similar, but not necessarily identical contexts as they worked with different staff in their research groups. Other contexts outside the professional setting, including social interaction at the institute, produced very different contexts for the SA doctoral researchers to negotiate.

3. What are the implications of the use of English and French for the researchers' identities?

Shifts in power depending on whether French or ELF is used within the various contexts were possible (Kalocsai, 2014; Bremer and Roberts, 1996), making it

necessary to consider both languages separately when looking at the impacts on the identities of the SA doctoral researchers.

1.2.3 The research context

In this section I present the setting of the study, the institute itself, its funding and the selection process of employees. I also present the linguistic context in which the research was undertaken.

My research was undertaken at a research institute in a town in France. The research at the institute is into microbiology, mainly for dairy products, although not exclusively. The funding comes from both the public and private sectors. It is a publically run body with permanent researchers paid by the government. However, the private sector can work with the institute, paying for specific research or using the institute's equipment for trials. These trials may be undertaken by the researchers at the institute, or employees of the private company. The institute however has a second role which is considered as equally important, the education of PhD researchers. My research was therefore viewed by staff generally as contributing to their work. The supervisors are employed as public sector workers and are mainly native French-speakers as this type of contract in France is through competitive exams using French. All the researchers, both doctoral as well as those who have already obtained their PhD, also understand through personal experience the importance of language as well as the barriers that it can create for their work.

The rich and diverse linguistic and cultural mix at the institute is added to by the presence of experienced researchers visiting from other countries. Some of these scientists are in the country for very short periods of time, possibly only a month, whereas others may stay for longer. A certain number are researchers who have French as an additional language, for example from North African countries, such as Algeria or Morocco where at least secondary and tertiary education are usually studied in French. For researchers from other countries however, for example China, French is often a language they have not encountered before but will require for day to day activities once they arrive, including socially within the institute. I often hear French being used for general communication between the researchers and other members of the institute on a regular basis, but in keeping with the ideas of universalism, English is more used for professional communication with researchers outside France.

1.2.4 My role at the institute

My role at the institute involves assisting the supervisors as well as SA and French-speaking doctoral researchers with aspects of their work that require English. I have used the term French-speaking doctoral researchers to describe doctoral researchers who speak French as their home language, or have used French as an additional language throughout their lives, for example those from Africa, who have undertaken most, if not all their education in French. We work on their thesis, viva preparation, articles for publication, presentations for conferences or posters, for which they may make specific requests. These areas of their work may require communicative competences (CCs) in both spoken and written English. Correspondence, which includes letters to journals, organisation of conferences or even e-mails using different language registers is another area that may be required. Assistance with their articles may vary, especially in relation to the experience of the writer. We have also often worked on various aspects of pronunciation for presentations, looking at segmental and suprasegmental aspects. These sessions also provide an opportunity to practice the presentation within a safe environment. The register required for e-mails and more informal communication is also less familiar to researchers and supervisors with phrasal verbs often leading to some incomprehension on their part. As this is part of networking and building relationships with other researchers it is an important aspect of their work.

Our work is undertaken individually, working with the doctoral researcher, researcher or supervisor's own research. The atmosphere is relaxed and informal, allowing the possibility for the researcher or supervisor to ask for assistance in any area they find necessary. Due to the fact that the sessions are individual there is no judgement from other learners or embarrassment of monopolising the time to the detriment of the group. There is no obligation to use this service and the sessions are organised at the request of the researcher. We have found this to be the most effective way of working. It increases the researcher or supervisor's motivation and understanding of the work undertaken (Allison et al., 1998) and is an approach they find very helpful. It also allows me to understand any specific barriers they may experience and adapt the teaching accordingly.

1.2.5 Perceived problems in practice

Our lessons are usually on a one to one basis at the request of the researcher for a specific activity. However, outside this protected space I have been aware of

barriers to communication as well as a lack of status. These may be experienced socially at the institute, or for day to day life living in the country.

I did not initially consider other linguistic challenges and the potential impact on their identities for my research as our work was only in English. However, this proved fundamental to considering their experiences in France. The cross over with their private lives is perhaps why this has remained an area where there is little support. The SA doctoral researchers are adults, so without a specific incident such aspects of their time in France are not considered as relevant to teaching. It may even have been viewed as intrusive, although this research showed that despite being painful barriers, the SA doctoral researchers wished to discuss this aspect of their studies. As discussed in the final chapter, there are possible solutions that can be put in place at the institute to potentially reduce isolation.

In addition, at first glance the barriers experienced by the SA doctoral researchers at the institute appear to be lower than for SA students at university due to the international nature of the establishment and the community of practice which they access on arrival. The fact that they have work colleagues of a similar age from the institute supported this assumption. However, it quickly became apparent during the pilot study that social contacts were a recurrent and often painful barrier in this situation and linguistically extremely complex. The implications for the well-being and consequently academic achievement made this an important area to address within my practice as a language teacher.

1.2.6 Research groups

Researchers at the institute work in research groups comprised of a supervisor, one or more doctoral researchers, and technicians. The research group can be extended, contracting out certain aspects of their work if they require very specific scientific equipment or skills. This work may be contracted out to companies or universities, either in France or abroad, using private or public funding depending on the research contract. Certain experiments may also be undertaken as a form of exchange between research institutes or universities who have complementary skills and equipment. As a result, the work is very interesting and varied for me. Working closely in a one to one situation gives an opportunity to the researchers to describe their work, or specific aspects of it that may be unclear to someone outside their community of practice, again within a safe environment.

1.3 SA doctoral researchers in France

The presence of SA students and doctoral researchers is not unusual in France with many of them presently studying in the country. According to the Institute for Statistics at UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) in 2017 there were 49,771 mobile students studying abroad in France. Campus France, the official agency organised by the Ministère de l'enseignement supérieur, de la recherche et de l'innovation, The French Ministry for Higher Education, Research and Innovation, (my translation) states that 41% of the doctoral researchers in the country fall into this category (Campus France, 2017). This rich mix of nationalities is present in doctoral programmes in the various institutions in the town where I undertook this study. Many of these SA doctoral researchers travel to France from countries with home languages that are neither English nor French and as a result are confronted by a need to communicate at many different levels in two additional languages. It should however, be remembered that a number of these researchers come from countries where French may be used for work or studies, for example Morocco. I have not included these researchers in my research as my interest is with those who are required to communicate in two languages with which they are less familiar. The SA doctoral researchers in this research differ in several ways from the majority of exchange SA students I have taught here who often arrive in France already in a group from the country where they are studying at university. They bring with them a network and can draw on this community for social, cultural and linguistic support (Coleman, 2013). In contrast, support for the SA doctoral researchers from local doctoral researchers may be limited, as in France students usually attend their local university rather than travelling to another part of France. As a result many of the French-speaking doctoral researchers are also from the local area and either live at home or return every weekend. This strong link with family and friends for the French-speaking doctoral researchers may further increase isolation for the SA doctoral researchers. Some, although not all, live in a university residence. These are often almost empty at the weekend and even more so during the holidays because of the local contacts for the French students and doctoral researchers. The lack of free time during the week for all doctoral researchers has led some SA doctoral researchers to try to organise activities, such as football matches, at the weekend. Unfortunately, these have been largely unsuccessful as the local students and doctoral researchers are absent.

In my experience, typically SA undergraduate students stay for a shorter period in France studying at the university or business school. Those that visit the country for study usually stay between four weeks and a year, depending on the course they are following at university, or other teaching establishment. The studies they undertake are not usually scientific, more commonly business studies or languages. These students have usually had greater access to language lessons to study French in their home countries prior to arriving in France, as well as time and access once they arrive with language being part of, if not all of their studies. This should reduce potential barriers in many day to day contexts, for example when taking public transport or shopping. As a result, the experience of the SA doctoral researchers in this research does not reflect the experiences, and therefore the needs of these students, and may be closer in some respects to that of migrant workers. This is discussed more fully in chapters 2, 4 and 5.

This comparison shows that whilst at first there may seem to be similarities between the experience of SA students, an area of education that has attracted more attention in educational research than SA doctoral researchers, the context is very different. Most students could try to make the best of a four week visit that does not live up to their expectations, whereas three disappointing years in a country, would be far more challenging. As the SA doctoral researchers do not arrive with a physically present network from their country, the lack of social interaction that can result from time constraints may also push them back towards their existing online support network from home. This in turn may further decrease the need and motivation to create social contacts in the country.

1.3.1 Participant SA doctoral researchers

There are seven SA doctoral researchers who participated in this research included three SA doctoral researchers from Brazil, two male and the one female. A further two are from China, one from Iran and one from Ukraine, all of whom are male. From my time working with the SA doctoral researchers I have found them to be extremely motivated, both for their studies in science and English. They are aware of the importance of English in order to read research and follow the conversations of their discipline. In addition they require English to communicate with their discourse community and create networks as well as allowing them to communicate their own ideas effectively. However, as I do not use French with them, its use was an area of their studies and life here I knew very little about.

Drawing on the knowledge and experience I have from working with the SA doctoral researchers within the institute before the study, those in my research all share the following traits:

- They have all chosen to continue their studies and work in France, leaving behind their familiar surroundings, language and culture, as well as family and friends.
- They are all highly motivated by their studies and willing to invest greatly in their work.
- They have all studied English for several years in their own country and have at least a level that allows them to read scientific articles on their subject in English.

In theory, foreign researchers coming to France to undertake a PhD are required to use French for their studies by law (Graziani, 2014). It was therefore extremely surprising to learn that despite requiring an international certificate to attest to their level in English, SA doctoral researchers are not required to have studied French prior to arriving in France. There also seems to be a degree of flexibility practiced within teaching establishments (Van Der Jeught, 2016). From personal and professional experience I know that certainly within Business schools in France French is not used as the language of instruction.

I was interested to learn that prior to 2013 the researchers' viva had to be in French (Van Der Jeught, 2016; Graziani, 2014) as I have been present when English has been used before this change was adopted. This was not at the request of the researcher, but to allow a wider choice for the jury, otherwise limited to French-speakers. The jury for the viva for a doctoral researcher's PhD consists of six examiners either from France or abroad, invited from various universities within the discipline who have a particular interest in the research. The selection is made by the supervisors who submit the list to the 'Ecole Doctorale' who then organise the dates for the viva and contact potential members of the jury. Members of the jury from abroad are allowed to use their own language, which is not necessarily English, although a French translation should be provided of their comments. English could only be used if an English-speaker who was unable to communicate in French was a necessary member of the jury. However, the law requires that if the doctoral researcher presents their thesis in English, they must write a fifteen page summary of their work in French. Therefore competence in

academic written English and French is unavoidable for the doctoral researchers to complete their studies making undertaking a PhD using only English in France theoretically impossible. Unfortunately, this carries the risk of the possibility of language barriers to study being created for SA doctoral researchers. This is discussed further in the literature chapter, section 2.2.2, looking at the use of French in this context.

1.3.2 SA doctoral researchers' language use in their home countries

The SA doctoral researchers in this study had different experiences of the languages used in their own countries. Their perception of languages and linguistic capital varied greatly within these different contexts although the use of English for science was not an unusual concept for any. Within their own countries, English is often used as a neutral, denationalised language (Ilieva, 2012), ELF remaining outside what may be more political choices in certain contexts. This is a concept I develop in the literature chapter, section 2.2.1 looking at language choices. All have successfully undertaken postgraduate studies in their home countries using the appropriate language required, possibly with locally imposed linguistic choices. They can therefore be considered good communicators in those languages. With the exception of the Brazilians, all the participant SA doctoral researchers encountered the situation of locally imposed language choices, involving the use more than one language for day to day interaction within their own country. The reasons for this varied and are discussed in more depth in the individual presentations of the participants. This was a situation I had not considered before my study. The SA doctoral researchers were very open to exploring different languages and cultures although they all complained of having limited time for access to this during their stay. Openness to other cultures though is perhaps not surprising having accepted to undertake their PhD studies abroad.

All the names used in the research are pseudonyms and were chosen by the SA doctoral researchers themselves, an activity that they seemed to find great fun and had very personal reasons for their choice. They also appeared to enjoy discovering research in another sphere, one which is so different to their scientific approach. The names they chose and their nationalities are as follows:

Abelino	Brazilian
Koroush	Iranian
Manon	Brazilian
Alex	Ukrainian
Carlitos	Brazilian
Chao	Chinese
Cong	Chinese

1.4 Supervisors

I was also interested in the supervisors' view of the context. Their experience of the situation and their comments proved invaluable being responsible for guiding the SA doctoral researchers during their three year study period in France. They also provided information concerning ways of negotiating the linguistic barriers with the SA doctoral researchers. The supervisors, whilst not being native English-speakers have published in English-medium journals and are required to give presentations at conferences in English. They have also created networks using English with other researchers across the globe through personal contact, often maintained by e-mails and video links in English. There were five female and two male participant supervisors. As with the SA doctoral researchers, pseudonyms were used for the participant supervisors. Once again, the names were chosen by the participants themselves and their interviews are presented under these names. The female supervisors in this research chose:

- Julie
- Claudine
- Diana
- Alice
- Josephine

The male supervisors chose

- Yann
- Matteo

Not all the supervisors have French as their home language. Diana considers Russian her home language and Matteo speaks Italian and an Italian dialect, Neapolitan, both of which he considers home languages but in different contexts. I

was also surprised to learn that Josephine's home language is not French, but Martinican Creole, or Matnik, a fact that I learnt during my research despite having known her for several years. The other supervisors all consider French as their home language.

As is the case for many doctoral supervisors, despite a heavy workload they give a lot of time to working with their doctoral researchers, remaining supportive of them as they learn to work effectively in research.

Their work includes:

- Working with doctoral researchers and Masters students
- Teaching
- Undertaking their own research
- Grant applications
- Publishing
- Reviewing articles
- Conferences – preparation and travel to conferences
- Organisation of seminars and congresses
- Networking
- Commercial aspects, looking for new contracts and negotiating with companies
- Contact with public organisations, such as other universities or advising politicians
- Producing their own accounts at the end of the year

In addition to these demands on their time, as supervisors they also need to undertake various activities as members of "Ecole doctorales". This includes working with researchers who have previously studied at the institute, following their progress within companies and creating further contacts for them as well as promoting their work through conferences. In addition, they can organise financial support for these researchers for a period of three months if necessary. They are also required to work with industry and create contacts through networking with a view to securing funding from them for future research. As a result, I remain very grateful to them for the time they gave to participate in this study.

1.5 Overall organisation of the thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters, including this introduction in which I looked at the context of the research with a brief introduction to the participants. Chapter 2, the literature review, presents the background literature and theoretical frameworks used in the research. This explores the phenomena of study abroad in non-English-speaking countries, although research in English-speaking countries is also considered. Aspects of SA doctoral researchers' socialisation relating to their language choices and negotiating their own identity within the communities they encounter during their stay in France are also investigated. Frameworks considering sociocultural aspects and the relevance of intercultural competence, intercultural communicative competence and intercultural awareness in this research are also presented. Chapter 3, methodology, then presents the research design and methods. This contains more in depth information about the participants and the setting in which the data was collected and the methods employed for analysis. I also present the changes that were made and the flexibility of the research to adapt to the circumstances I encountered. Chapter 4 deals with the findings relating to language choice and language negotiation. These include the findings from the questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and observations in relation to these research questions. I also discuss how they relate to the conceptual frameworks presented in the literature review. Chapter 5 considers the implications the findings from research questions 1 and 2 for the SA doctoral researchers' identities, and their relevance in relation to the literature review.

The final chapter, conclusions and recommendations, presents the conclusions of the research, reflecting on the original aims and addresses to what extent these have been met as well as considering the practical applications from the research and recommendations for further research. I now present the literature review.

Chapter 2 Literature review

This chapter presents the main conceptual frameworks that underpin this research. These have been used to explore and understand the ways in which the doctoral researchers made their language choices in diverse contexts and how they negotiated their language use during their SA and the impact this had on their identities. Over the last twenty years there has been a huge increase in the number of international and SA students in English-speaking countries (Ye and Edwards, 2017). Many research studies have looked at within-programme study abroad over short periods, although a few have considered long stay students from abroad, for example Cho (2004). There has also been an increase in the number of studies of students up to Masters Level in this situation, discussed by Streitwieser and Light (2018) and Jackson (2008). However, far less research has been undertaken working with doctoral researchers, although interest is growing in this area (Ye and Edwards, 2017; Due et al., 2015). Furthermore, research into the experiences of SA students in non-English-speaking countries is even more under-researched (Nam, 2018; Llanes et al., 2016). An ethnographic framework was chosen for this research to study this little known area of education, exploring the experiences of individuals through case studies in their social context, employing both an emic and etic perspective (Kian and Beach, 2019; Duff, 2008; Dörnyei, 2007).

The chapter is divided into five main sections. The first reviews literature concerning the SA experience, and potential challenges that may be encountered. The second section reviews literature relating to aspects of the SA doctoral researchers' socialisation in interactions both inside and outside the institute. These include possible language choices and use as well as the consequences of these choices within a given community. Research is also presented on how language choice may be negotiated as well as an introduction to the impact of socialisation on identities. The third presents the literature associated with the frameworks used to explore sociocultural aspects in this research, as well as situated learning. The fourth reviews the literature concerning intercultural competence, intercultural communicative competence and intercultural awareness and their relevance to this research. Finally, the potential impact on identities from the experiences in the various communities the SA doctoral researchers encounter is reviewed in the fifth section.

2.1 Study abroad

The movement of students and doctoral researchers between countries is not uncommon with the inclusion of international SA students often viewed as a positive addition to university life (Due et al., 2015) and is actively encouraged by such projects as the Bologna Declaration created in 1999 (EHEA, 2020). This European initiative for SA is presented in more detail in section 2.2.1. There is however, a great diversity of students that are grouped together as SA. The term SA should be seen as describing their geographical movements, rather than a common path or goal (Isabelli-Garcia et al., 2018; Coleman, 2013). The students themselves should be viewed as individuals, with *'complex and fluid identities' with a unique experience of study abroad* (Coleman, 2013). As a result, research into SA covers a wide range of contexts with certain aspects having been explored less than others, for example, research studying non-English-speaking students using English as a lingua franca (ELF) in non-English-speaking countries remains sparse. In this research ELF is considered as English being used between two speakers of different languages as a form of communication (Seidlhofer, 2005). Some research projects have explored cultural differences in English-speaking countries as part of the experience of SA students (Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher, 2019b; Günay, 2016; Álvarez, I. and Pérez, C. 2015). However, there are some similarities with the contexts that can be encountered by SA doctoral researchers in non-English-speaking countries. Despite variations, the experiences of cultural differences appear to remain similar to the challenges encountered by SA doctoral researchers in any country. Calikoglu (2018) for example, looked primarily at the motivation for the choice of studying in non-English-speaking countries for non-English-speaking students. The barriers that he discovered through his research, mainly employing interviews with SA students, included feelings of isolation, being a foreigner and difficulties with the local language, reflecting similar experiences reported in English-speaking countries (Due et al., 2015; Caruana, 2014; Chang, 2011; Sawir et al., 2008) However, voluntary social segregation and lack of intercultural understanding has also been documented (Caruana and Ploner, 2010).

Byram and Feng (2006 p.1) described international students as living *'in isolation on the margins of the society in which they reside'*. In addition to being a painful experience, these feelings of isolation can result in the impression with some international students that local students receive preferential treatment as

information can be difficult to obtain in English, putting them at a disadvantage (Calikoglu, 2018). Administrative barriers due to local language difficulties and lack of knowledge of habitus for administration specific to SA students, for example visas, as well as the lack of support for this at universities and financial difficulties were also barriers typically reported by these SA students (Calikoglu, 2018; Nam, 2018). The limited possibility of work in the host country once their studies were completed was another common area of concern (Calikoglu, 2018). Such situations can push individuals into what Caruana (2014) describes as exiles, those who are attached emotionally to their home country and regret being in the host country.

Two other studies of interest, looking at non-English-speaking students during Erasmus exchanges in non-English-speaking countries are Kalocsai (2014) and Llanes et al., (2016) who found improvements in participants' level of English when used as a lingua franca in non-English-speaking countries. However, contact with speakers of the language of the country was very difficult to establish, with friendships being created within the international group through English, another common factor with many other research projects (Due et al., 2015; Kinginger, 2015; Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014; Chang, 2011).

2.2 Socialisation

SA doctoral researchers face this challenge in the new communities that they may try to integrate during their stay abroad and the relationships that they are able to build, an important activity of any community being the socialisation within its structure. This is highly complex, being changing and dynamic entities to communities within which members are required to adapt and negotiate their own identities with other members, to allow them first to become, and then to remain, participating members (Joseph, 2016; Morita, 2004). This context in relation to SA students has been documented in previous research and can lead to challenges for individuals (Due et al., 2015). In addition to the communities within their educational establishment, SA students are required to adapt to other communities in the general population of the host country during their stay, for example host families. The SA doctoral researchers in this research are confronted by slightly different contexts, needing to adapt not only to other communities, but also negotiate two additional language choices simultaneously, making their task more complex. Using the model created by Lave and Wenger

(1991), discussed in the section 2.2.6, access to these communities is achieved through a process by which more experienced target language (TL) speakers initiate others as they integrate the community through legitimate peripheral participation (LPP). This type of socialisation leads to the possibility of greater participation through increased communicative competences (CCs) and knowledge in the TLs, whilst enjoying a more central position in the membership of the community, essential to greater participation (Joseph, 2016; Morita, 2004). However, increased CCs do not always produce the participation hoped for due to other factors, for example hierarchy, leading to feelings of isolation for some speakers, intensified by the lack of support from their usual networks. There is a potential risk of loneliness and feelings of isolation for the individuals concerned (Sawir et al., 2008), which could have a negative impact on their general well-being during their stay (Due et al., 2015). This could increase the need to use home languages and interact with others from their home culture during SA, a phenomena that has been well documented (Coleman, 2013). Whilst digital media may ease this, enabling contact with familiar, existing networks from home for SA students and researchers, it is perceived as less effective than the networks for doctoral researchers who remain in their home country who also have the proximity of family and friends for support (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014), although friendships may be strengthened or exist entirely through online contact and contacts may be created through Internet in the host country (Mikal, 2011). However, conflict perceived by SA doctoral researchers may lead to seeking comfort in their national identities (Kinger, 2015), which may be intensified if they have limited social contacts in the host country. As a result, even with reduced support, they may turn to their networks in their home country with potential negative consequences to their integration in the host country. However, this needs to be considered within the light of the potential advantages of home support through the concept of safe houses (Canagarajah, 1997), allowing the feelings of belonging and so increase the feelings of well-being for SA doctoral researchers enabling them to deal more positively with the challenges of SA. This concept is discussed in more detail in section 2.2.7 looking at social and professional engagement.

Feelings of isolation and loneliness have been shown to be a difficulty that any student may encounter in a new educational environment, however these may be intensified for SA students (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014). What has been termed

social isolation (Sawir et al., 2008), not having a group of friends to socialise with, characterised by boredom and feelings of exclusion, is not unusual for SA students or doctoral researchers, which is disappointing for many. It should not however, be automatically assumed that the reason for any lack of social contact is linguistic or cultural (Due et al., 2015; Byram and Feng, 2006). Whilst for many SA students the aim of their stay abroad is to gain, not just educationally, but linguistically and culturally (Kalocsai, 2014), for others, social integration may not necessarily be a goal with academic achievement considered far more important during their study time abroad (Due et al., 2015). This decision influences the researchers' language choice for communication as well as the fluctuations that may occur, even that of amotivation for the local language.

A further potential barrier for SA doctoral researchers is the understanding and negotiation of administration within an establishment as well as local administration. For example interactions with government bodies such as the tax office, are facilitated for local doctoral researchers as a result of habitus. Other administrative tasks, such as visa requirements, limited to long-stay SA students can be extremely time-consuming, adding to the stress for these particular individuals (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014). The negotiation in these contexts must take place with the CCs the researcher has developed in the TL, which the other speaker may consider underdeveloped (Macintyre and Legatto, 2011). This is a barrier more commonly associated with migrant workers than SA students, although doctoral researchers are often under contract for their research and have a role as a worker. This aspect will be developed in more depth in section 2.5.2 relating to migrant identities.

2.2.1 Language choices

The choice of language has a great impact on issues of power, empowering or stigmatising certain communities and can be used to control and dominate contexts (Pavlenko, 2012; Hyland, 2009). This is a criticism that has been levelled against English and other languages, including French, imposed in colonies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Martin Rojo, 2017). English is now often the lingua franca for global activities including scientific research, a globalised international activity. English has a central role in the dissemination of ideas and has become the language choice for scientific instruction in many countries (Hultgren, 2018). It can be argued this process has been accelerated by initiatives such as the Bologna Declaration in 1999 (EHEA, 2020) the aim of which is to allow

greater freedom of movement between European countries with the recognition of qualifications from other member states as well as studies (Airey et al., 2017) and therefore greater use of English as a medium for instruction (EMI). France has been a full member of the Bologna process since its creation in 1999 (EHEA, 2020). The use of English therefore is required whichever country the researcher studies in, although for Masters Level in France the main use for English is for reading articles rather than the more demanding roles for which it is needed at PhD level (Ye and Edwards, 2017). At this level of studies, the researchers are expected to be able to communicate successfully within their own academic discourse community, both spoken and written. The different competences required for successful communication in these various contexts are often challenging even for native English-speaking doctoral researchers (Aitchison et al., 2012) but they are likely to be even more complex for doctoral researchers with a non-English or French speaking background (NEFSB) such as those in my research (Rakedzon and Baram-Tsabari, 2017; Hu, 2007; Woodward-Kron, 2007; Flowerdew, 2000). The researchers are unlikely to be able to function effectively without the linguistic capital that English represents (Bourdieu, 1991). For example creating and maintaining international networks for collaboration relies on English (Muresan and Pérez-Llantada, 2014) as well as the increasing pressure on researchers to publish their work in English (Rakedzon and Baram-Tsabari, 2017; Kwan, 2010; Lillis and Curry, 2010; Flowerdew, 2008).

2.2.2 The use of French

The need for SA doctoral researchers to use French must be understood within the context of the French perception of the role of language in society. France created what is known as the Jacobin approach to language with the concept that considers the use of a common language seen as central to national identity and a nation. This approach sees a shared language as being necessary to produce and maintain unity within a nation. The view that a nation is dependent on a common language to unite its citizens began to develop in France in the seventeenth century and remains the basis for language policy in France today (Joseph, 2016). The aim of the use of one language is not only cohesion within the nation, but also greater social justice and social mobility through the use of a standardised form of language and was viewed as necessary to create a nation state in ideology prevalent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Martin Rojo, 2017) and supported by the revolutionary idea of equality (Van Der Jeught, 2016). However,

a negative aspect of this unity is that it can create a closed group or society with the very real possibility of acceptable discrimination towards those who do not have the necessary CCs in the language (Martin Rojo, 2017). Avoiding the language of a country whilst working and studying within its borders, especially over the three years needed for doctoral studies would not be without consequences in any country (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014). For the Jacobin approach, it is unacceptable.

The concept of a shared language has led to French being required by law for studies (Blattès, 2018; Graziani, 2014), the Toubon Law (France, La loi Toubon. Gouvernement français, France 1994). This was later modified by the Fioraso Law (France, La loi Fioraso. Gouvernement français, France 2013), which was specifically aimed at reforms in higher education to strengthen the position of the French language in study. However, some view the Toubon and Fioraso laws as barriers to recruiting international or SA students to study in France, although others do not agree that policy should be dictated by foreign students and that French students should have the right to study in French (Graziani, 2014).

A feeling of a potential loss of the position for a country's own language, or languages, is not limited to France. Nordic countries have taken steps to protect against the simultaneous use of English and local languages, a situation in which English may replace home languages for academic use, with their own languages used only for administration and social interaction (Hultgren, 2018; Airey, 2017). The solutions to this loss of power for the host countries languages vary depending on their specific linguistic context.

Certain concessions in relation to constraints imposed by the Toubon Law to protect the use of French were made through the Fioraso Law. These allow some use of English as the language of instruction, although this has been criticised by some members of the teaching staff from publicly funded universities as yielding to pressure from commercial higher education establishments. The criticism is levelled in part at private international business schools which recruit many international SA students, offering the possibility to study in English whilst living in France. However, the fact that the studies are in English is also seen by some French-speaking students as being a positive aspect, even a selling point of studies by these establishments, as professional openings once qualified will invariably require them to work in English. Interestingly, the use of English, rather

than French is also now promoted on Campus France, a government website to encourage studies in France for publically funded universities, as previously discussed in section 1.3. Whilst this may attract SA students in keeping with the Bologna Declaration (EHEA, 2020), these recruitment campaigns appear to ignore the very real risk of the local language being required for some aspects of course work and general information (Calikoglu, 2018; Sälo, 2010), as well as limiting any contact outside an academic context, including with local students. This is a possible risk for any non-English-speaking country with the rise of the use of EMI to encourage student mobility.

In education, the law in France controls more than just the language of instruction in course work. Under the Laws of Toubon and Fioraso, visiting lecturers presenting at international conferences, are allowed to use their own language, not English unless they happen to come from an English-speaking background. In this situation a French translation, or written summary, should be provided. Working and studying in France using only English therefore should not be possible, requiring researchers to learn both French and English, with the possibility of increasing language barriers for certain researchers. Gentil and Séror (2014) discuss the situation in the University of Ottawa, Canada, where the use of French is promoted. Despite working at the university to promote the French language the authors admit that they not only publish in English themselves, but also give conferences in English as the use of French would greatly limit the public they could reach. The laws in France also affect the use of language for everyday life, stating that '*French is a fundamental element of the personality and heritage of France*' (my translation), (La loi Toubon. Gouvernement français, France 1994). Bourdieu (2000) considers legal intervention as being the most powerful symbolic power, able to impose choices, leaving no possibility of negotiation for the individuals concerned. La loi Toubon states that the French language must be used for commercial activities and all public services, limiting access for those who cannot communicate effectively in French.

Another aspect of everyday life that may be affected is that of social interaction. Although this is not a result of the laws, socialising can be very limited as host country languages tend to be used between host country students for social interaction, (Nam, 2018). Similar barriers have been found in other multinational contexts such as companies. Multinational companies often have a linguistically mixed workforce as is frequently the case for research institutes. English is often

used as a lingua franca rather than the host country language in the working environment, although the host country language is generally used for social interaction (Zhang and Harzing, 2016). Interestingly, research undertaken by Magnan and Back (2007) studying linguistic gains for Americans during SA in France, suggests that Americans communicating in French together showed slower improvements in their language level in French. Although in France La loi Toubon allows the refusal of any other language than French by a workforce, within a research institute the use of English cannot be avoided either.

2.2.3 The use of English

2.2.3.1 Publishing

Academic writing is a competence that SA doctoral researchers must develop as publishing an article is a requirement to validate their PhD studies. English is a lingua franca in academia, being used in scientific discourse communities for networking, collaborating and publishing (Chen, 2016; Plo Alastrué, 2015; Povolná, 2015). Scientific knowledge is viewed through the European Enlightenment tradition as universal, requiring this knowledge to be shared and built by the scientific community as a whole (Lillis and Curry, 2010). The use of English therefore facilitates the dissemination of knowledge between many speakers of different languages in keeping with these ideas (Flowerdew 2015). Pressure to publish can come from governments looking to increase their share of research publications as proof of the quality of academic achievements in their country (Hultgren, 2018; Curry and Lillis, 2014) and increasing the development of their economies through knowledge based advances (Kwan, 2010). The use of English in these contexts is inevitably linked to issues of power, with countries looking for international visibility and prestige, although this may be at the cost of domain loss for their own language and culture (Plo Alastrué, 2015) with effective use of ELF involving not just the language itself, but cultural conventions within the discipline (Chen, 2016). The Nordic countries, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland have worked together on a common language policy to combat what is termed by the countries concerned as domain loss. The policy has six specific aims for the parallel use of languages (Kristiansen, 2013), see appendix J (p.260), to allow English to be used in parallel to the Nordic host country language (Hultgren, 2018). These aims recognise the need to use both, with local languages important for society and English as the international vehicle for scientific exchanges.

English however, continues to dominate the international research world, with English-speakers enjoying a privileged position. Studies have shown that research presented by native English-speakers has a greater impact on the discourse community than that of non-native speakers as a result of their linguistic advantage in English (Flowerdew, 2015). This inevitably results in the very real risk of the loss of scientific knowledge and development (Drubin and Kellogg, 2012). Native English-speakers may also be more likely to become gate-keepers for research publication, increasing this bias and their influence over the practice community. Methods of text evaluation have a great influence over academic publishing (Lillis and Curry, 2010). Whilst some editors will accept articles that do not have what they consider to be native-speaker level of English, they are the exception (Li and Flowerdew, 2007). Publishing in another language is a possibility, but often leads to limited readership in many disciplines (Gentil and Séror, 2014), although this is a greater risk when publishing scientific articles (Tang, 2012) reducing the impact on the scientific community. It can be argued there are advantages to publishing in other languages including increased readership within local communities especially amongst local practitioners for whom English may be a barrier to reading and understanding the text (Lillis and Curry, 2010). Although this is the case for certain disciplines, the scientific context in which the SA doctoral researchers will be publishing is an international one, requiring the use of English to disseminate knowledge.

It can also be argued this situation supports and maintains existing power structures, both industrial and political (Martin and Veel, 1998) through language choice, as discussed earlier with the dominance of the English speaking world (Flowerdew, 2015). Drubin and Kellogg (2012), writing in a journal specifically for microbiology, the discipline of most of the participants in this research, underline the important role the scientists themselves have to play in working together to ensure the sharing of knowledge despite any linguistic barriers. The actions include looking past grammatical errors in the selection of articles and making helpful, constructive comments to assist non-native-speakers. For non-native-speakers they suggests making all reasonable efforts to ensure the grammatical correctness of their articles, and logical presentation of ideas as reviewers have limited time and often undertake this task unpaid.

For the dissemination of knowledge to be successful through publishing, readers need to have the required level in English, limiting access if this is not the case.

Access to publishing work is also limited to those who have attained the necessary CCs (Povolná, 2015). In addition, networking and collaboration rely not only on the researchers' written level of English, but also spoken. The effects described by Winchester-Seeto et al., (2014) on professional development if language barriers exist in these competences, are presented in section 2.2.4, negotiation of language choices. Although these academic language restrictions on SA doctoral researchers could be experienced by any doctoral researcher as a result of potential language barriers, research has shown that the effects have a greater impact on SA doctoral researchers, both on a personal and academic level (Due et al., 2015; Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014).

2.2.3.2 *Within the institute*

Within the institute the use of English has a position which is very different to that of the French language and culture as it offers the possibility of linguistic equality between the speakers (Ilieva, 2012). The language, used as a lingua franca, becomes denationalised, creating its own culture (Kaypak and Ortaçtepe, 2014) in this instance, through international research. ELF has been described as a social practice, with speakers creating communities of practice rather than speech communities (Kalocsai, 2014). Access to this community could be gained through ELF in a professional context, rather than the more complex requirements for speech communities. Speech communities do not encompass every speaker of the same language, but a community of speakers whose use of the language has similar traits (Kalocsai, 2014). The researchers at the institute, as educated scientists, employ French that reflects this social group.

English is a competence that international researchers must maintain, or preferably improve to compete within the research community, to collaborate and maintain contact with other researchers abroad, be able to access higher impact journals for publication and communicating with the discourse community as a whole. These are very significant competences for the career of researchers generally being often required to work to 'targets' for international journals by various bodies, including institutions such as universities or national or supranational governments (Hultgren, 2018; Curry and Lillis, 2014). As a result, the need for English in a successful career (Cameron et al., 2011) can make studying in English attractive.

2.2.3.3 *International mobility*

The rise in the international mobility of students, encouraged by the Bologna Declaration (EHEA, 2020), has also contributed to an increase in university courses offered in English (EMI) in non-English-speaking countries (Calikoglu, 2018; Airey et al., 2015; Plo Alastrué, 2015). This is true, not just in Europe, but to a growing extent in Asia, offering advantages of proximity with home countries for Asian students combined with a lower cost of living. Branch campuses have been established from universities based in English-speaking countries, or other non-English-speaking countries (Ahmad and Buchanan, 2017) offering courses employing EMI. This underlines the demand and marketability of EMI in higher education throughout the world. However, whilst it can be argued that EMI allows greater freedom of movement and increasing cultural awareness through studying in other countries, it reduces the use of local languages. Contact and friendships may be created with students from other cultures, although research points to limited contact with local students and the population in general (Nam, 2018; Due et al., 2015; Kalocsai, 2014). The reasons for the choice of SA however are not necessarily based on a desire to explore other cultures, but are often influenced by the perceived reputation of the universities and the quality of the education they can receive (Ahmad and Buchanan, 2017).

2.2.4 Negotiation of language choices

The potential for the negotiation of languages, linked to issues of power, depends on the individuals present and the context. Issues of power surrounding activities in the laboratory and contacts with other members of the discourse community outside the institute need to be negotiated on a day to day basis. These contacts include networking at conferences and discussions on audio or video links, underlining the linguistic capital of English globally. Negotiation of language choice for researchers studying abroad has implications for issues of power as well as culture, reflecting language use in multinational companies where the use of English for work is viewed from different perspectives by members of the host country and other workers from abroad. The choice of language in the establishment can lead to feelings of superiority or inferiority between workers (Zhang and Harzing, 2016). It can be argued that within certain contexts, the use of English as a denationalised lingua franca (Kaypak and Ortaçtepe, 2014) in the absence of speakers from English-speaking countries may be a neutral choice. However, it may not be perceived in this way by speakers of the host country's language with their corresponding loss of power (Hultgren, 2018; Airey et al.,

2017; Zhang and Harzing, 2016). An alternative perspective of the use of ELF and local languages is that of complimentary languages. Despite the dominance of English through EMI, research has shown a certain mixing of languages exists, both in and out of formal teaching with speakers of other languages (Haberland, 2013). Considering languages as complementary within an establishment moves away from the concept in the Toubon and Fioraso laws of '*defence de la langue*', 'defending the language' (my translation), presenting the language as under attack.

In order to advance their career, researchers need to obtain a level sufficient to allow them to use English as a functional second language to compete internationally in their chosen discipline. Therefore, learning English is of great importance to the researchers, none of whom have an English-speaking background at the institute, including French-speaking doctoral researchers. Successful interactions in both English and French remain of value to SA doctoral researchers, but in markedly different settings. Developing the required competences should not be considered as merely a cognitive activity but as a social practice involving negotiation between the learner and the other members of the community of practice. Membership and the evolution of that membership within the community of practice is an essential part of learning and progression (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

2.2.5 Potential impact on professional development

Within any context, dominant languages create access to communities (Pavlenko, 2004). Therefore, if the necessary communication skills in a host country are not developed it can also have far reaching consequences for the professional development of SA doctoral researchers. According to research by Winchester-Seeto et al. (2014 p.616) language barriers can affect:

- Social networks
- Communication with supervisor
- Perception of academic ability
- Understanding of academic attribution
- Quality of student experience
- Learning
- Academic and research network

Winchester-Seeto's research explored the relationship between SA doctoral researchers and their supervisors at three Australian universities. Although it was undertaken in an English-speaking environment, there is a cross-cultural context between the SA doctoral researchers and supervisors also found in the present research. In addition, the SA doctoral researchers in this Australian research spoke about the separation they experience from their usual support network at home, a potential difficulty that could arise whatever the language of the country.

This is also seen in Winchester-Seeto's research, listing eight 'intensifiers', factors that intensify barriers that any student may encounter. The intensifiers she identifies have been put forward in other research experienced by SA doctoral researchers, again within English-speaking countries.

These are:

- Language
- Cultural differences in dealing with hierarchy
- Separation from the familiar
- Separation from support
- Cultural differences (excluding dealing with hierarchy)
- Stereotypes
- Time
- What happens when the candidate returns home

(Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014 p. 615)

The task based nature of research work within a team however, may facilitate access through legitimate peripheral participation (LPP).

2.2.6 Legitimate Peripheral Participation

ELF may offer greater opportunities of access to communities of practices, central to the organisation at the institute, with each SA doctoral researcher studying towards their PhD within a research community. The research communities consist of one or more SA doctoral researchers, a supervisor and technicians, with the number involved varying depending on the work undertaken. The framework of LPP has been chosen to explore the SA doctoral researchers' role and integration within these established communities. LPP involves collaboration within a group to facilitate learning and understanding through participation in social

practices with more experienced members of the community of practice in a specific situation (Lave and Wenger, 1991). At the institute, the individuals in a research group work together in a common enterprise and use shared resources to accomplish tasks (Wenger, 1998; Lave and Wenger, 1991). This learning through collaboration reflects the methods of working and studying encountered by SA doctoral researchers. It is therefore a useful framework to understand SA doctoral researchers' possibilities to negotiate their position, identities and language (Kalocsai, 2014) within the research community for their professional development in addition to the other communities they may encounter whilst in France. Initiating SA doctoral researchers into language use for the discourse community, but also the practice community is a part of professional development.

LPP has many roles, including facilitating membership of the discourse community, learning about their beliefs, values, conventions and current debates in the discipline (Flowerdew, 2000). Successful initiation for SA doctoral researchers, leading to membership of communities of practice, is essential for their professional development. The language choice required for membership may vary depending on the community, with ELF being more successful in a community of practice than a speech community (Kalocsai, 2014). Language choice by other members of a community can also facilitate or block language learning for those outside a community and therefore, access to and participation in that community (Back, 2011). A method to facilitate membership of a community through language choice in multilingual contexts such as that encountered at the institute is the practice of using two languages in the same conversation, known as translanguaging. The term translanguaging was translated from the Welsh, *trawsieithu*, and was used to describe the teaching practices in classrooms in Wales to communicate with pupils in language revitalisation programmes to encourage the acquisition and use of Welsh (Li, 2018). The term translanguaging is now often used to describe many other forms of language use that employ the use of more than one language, often mixed by the same speaker in the utterance, for example, code meshing. This research employs the term in its original sense, to describe communication with two languages being used simultaneously by different speakers in the same communication context.

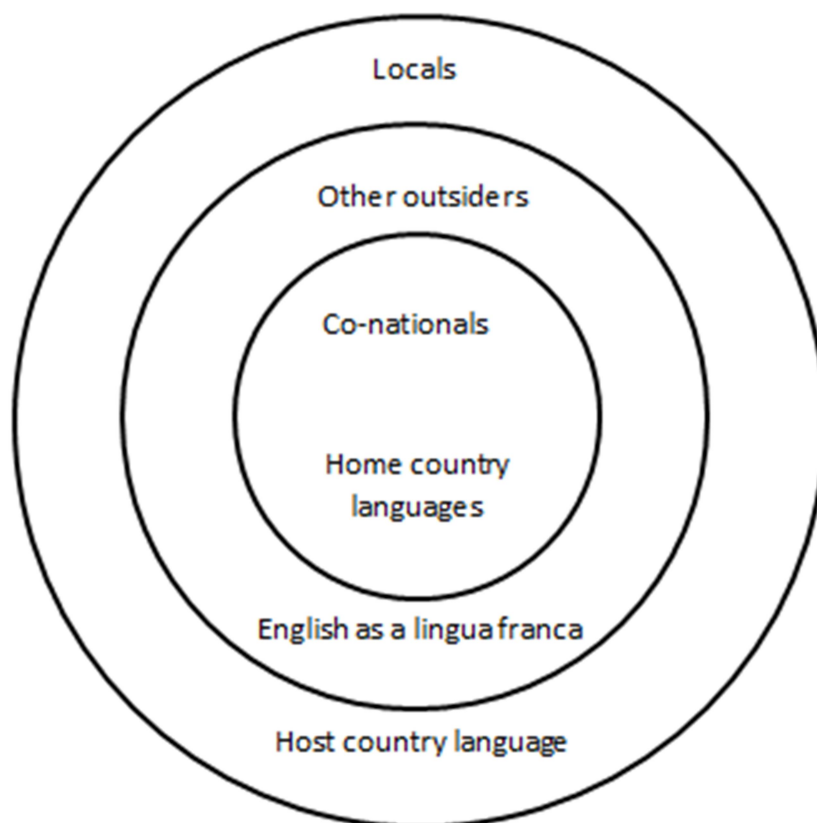
Participation in the research process should allow SA doctoral researchers to use the practices and knowledge from a community of practice to develop themselves within the constraints of the discipline. However, they do not have this advantage

with speech communities as contrary to the research context they do not have automatic and legitimate access. The more experienced and expert members hold greater power within the structure (Giampapa, 2004) being able to control access to information, networks and even participation in the group itself, influencing the identities of SA doctoral researchers as well as possibly encouraging the perpetuation of certain prejudices and possibly limiting access to research or social activities for SA doctoral researchers (Cho, 2004).

2.2.7 Social contacts

Isolation could potentially be a greater problem for SA doctoral researchers (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014) in this study than SA undergraduate or graduate students as they are usually abroad for shorter periods of time and arrive in a group. Social contacts in the host country are unlikely to be established before their arrival and therefore add to the challenges they encounter during their studies. SA doctoral researchers may need and benefit from support from an accessible network from their own language and culture (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014; Mikal, 2011) whichever country they choose to study in. The need to communicate in a more familiar way, using language and cultural practices from their home country is often felt by individuals abroad (Hernández, 2018). Coleman (2013) suggests a useful model of three circles to describe the SA students or researchers' social engagements in such a context. The first, inner circle is the social engagement with others from the individuals' home country. The second, or middle circle, describes the social engagement with international contacts. Finally, the third, outer circle refers to the social engagement with individuals from the host country.

Figure 3: Social networks of study abroad students, Coleman (2013)



Socialising with members of the inner circle may be perceived as an obstacle, leaving less time for contact with members from the other circles (Coleman, 2013). However, it can also be viewed as support for SA students or researchers (Canagarajah, 1997).

It may appear that SA students or researchers have potentially more to gain linguistically and culturally if they engage in exchanges with member of the host country, the outer circle (Coleman, 2013) rather than their own inner circle. However, Canagarajah (1997) put forward the notion that the construction of specific identities and role within a group is required to achieve access to this outer circle. This is in contrast to the inner circle. For this he describes contact with other members of participants' own cultural community, using more familiar styles of language in what he terms 'safe houses' where individuals can relax in their own culture and identities. This allows them to adopt the required identities in the target communities more comfortably, increasing access and participation as well as building networks within their discipline, both inside and outside the institute. Whilst his original study involving African American students in America, who may have brought cultural conflicts with them that are not relevant to this study, the

need to have contact with others with similar experiences is common to many groups.

Although SA doctoral researchers may enjoy contact with other researchers studying abroad, relations between researchers from different cultural backgrounds should not be expected to automatically be successful and harmonious, nor do they necessarily create an atmosphere of mutual comprehension. A study undertaken by Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher (2019b) explored relationships between students in an intercultural learning environment from various cultural backgrounds in which feelings of frustration were discovered, with some individuals distancing themselves from the group. In contrast, research undertaken with non-English-speaking Erasmus students in Hungary showed they aimed to establish friendships within their Erasmus group from other countries rather than the local community (Kalocsai, 2014). This was in part due to limited contact with local students, and partly a desire to be able to create and maintain friendships in English, an important aspect of their time abroad for many participants in her study. The level of CCs in the local language, Hungarian, and the common assumption that the local students' level of English was low, also formed barriers to creating friendships with individuals from the local community, in turn increasing the need for friendships in their own group. For students or researchers in SA projects, the need to acquire certain communicative resources in ELF as part of their academic studies and identities as a scientist may limit time and investment in other areas of language development (Kalocsai, 2014).

SA students and doctoral researchers' language goals may vary. Those who travel to France for linguistic reasons are likely to be interested in French, whereas others, such as SA business study students, may prefer to use English. To further their career, SA doctoral researchers are also likely to consider the use of English rather than French as necessary for academic and professional development. Rather than attempting to overcome all potential barriers, which may be overwhelming, SA doctoral researchers in this situation will need to customise their experiences and competences they acquire during their stay, choosing the most advantageous solutions for them (Chang, 2011). SA doctoral researchers who neither originate from, nor study in what is known as an inner circle English-speaking country, are likely to devote time and effort to improving CCs in English. However, international work in research assists in the development of professional

English more than in the researchers' home countries where they could speak the language of the country at least with some participants in research.

2.2.8 Support networks

Many individuals who change location may also lack a support network in the host country, relying on the potentially less direct support from their networks from home (Due et al., 2015; Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014; Mikal, 2011). The possible amotivation or fluctuations in the motivation to acquire CCs in the TL may limit any possibility to build support networks in the host country which increases the risk of isolation for the individual. In turn, this may lead to a greater reliance on home networks, albeit more limited, further reducing contact with individuals in the host country. This contact is made possible through what has been termed the compression in time and reduction in space as a result of digital or new social media. It has been viewed as a major factor in the acceleration of globalisation (Chen, 2012). Although conversely in the situation in this research where the participants are in an international setting, social media may play a role in the individuals being able to reconnect with their own language and culture at any time. In so doing, they reduce the need for contact with others in the host country and a global perspective (Mikal, 2011), as well as the need for negotiation of language choice outside direct academic requirements (Martínez-Arbelaiz et al, 2017).

2.2.9 Potential career impact

Professional networking is another important area requiring English through the building and sharing of knowledge globally, increasing the social capital of the researcher themselves or their departments. EFL allows greater contact and collaboration between speakers of different languages when working in larger networks (Chen, 2016; Plo Alastrué, 2015; Povolná, 2015). Consequently, the use of English remains dominant, embedded as it is in power relations (Gentil and Séror, 2014; Lillis and Curry, 2010) and cultural identities for an international career. Publishing in English plays an important role in career paths for academics, giving recognition for their work and is taken into account when an academic or researcher is considered for promotion (Flowerdew, 2000). Therefore the use of ELF so early in their careers as an international researcher can be a great advantage for SA doctoral researchers. Support for research grants for work in English is also easier to obtain (Gentil and Séror, 2014; Lillis and Curry, 2010) and once obtained, the success of funded research is often evaluated by the

number of research articles published from the study (Kwan, 2010), requiring the necessary language competences in English to achieve this. English, being the dominant language for publishing, allows greater access to high impact journals (Lillis and Curry, 2010) and science in general. Publishing in French, for example, would not achieve the same readership, limiting the impact of the research (Gentil and Séror, 2014) and recognition for the researcher.

2.3 Sociocultural theory

As SA doctoral researchers' social capital will be challenged during their SA, with different criteria positioning individuals' social capital in a new environment, with relevance to RQ 1 and 2. Sociocultural theory (SCT) is a useful theory for this research, exploring the potential for negotiation in the various contexts. I have used the framework of SCT as well as the contributions made by Vygotsky (1986), Bakhtin (1981) and Bourdieu (1991) towards its development to explore more fully these concepts. Bourdieu has had a great influence on how positioning within sociocultural contexts is influenced by culture and language. He held the view that language is based in culture and social interaction (Bourdieu, 1991). His belief that language could not be studied effectively without considering the social context, but also included the historical and political contexts, forms the basis of the choice of the ethnographic approach used in this study. The concepts of social, symbolic, cultural and linguistic capital he put forward, in which the value of individuals' capital, and therefore the power they can exercise in the community, is accorded by the other members of the group within the relevant field (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu also developed many conceptual tools, amongst them the concept of field. Field, a social context in which individuals attempt to gain desired capital, for example knowledge or wealth to improve their position in a network is a valuable concept for exploring SA, when individuals' entire lives are uprooted with the effects of their choice of where to study affecting almost every field. SA students and doctoral researchers move between several fields as is the case for any student. With so many fields undergoing reconstruction within a new cultural setting this becomes a central concept to consider when exploring SA experiences and the well-being of individuals as they build their new networks. A network can be described as a system of social positions regulated through issues of power. Power is maintained through values that are considered important in the context and therefore reliant on knowledge of the culture. In turn, an understanding of the values within the context allows members of the network to develop and improve

their own position and power within the group in relation to others through contact with more powerful individuals. What is considered important to the individuals in the network may change over time through choices that are made by the individuals modifying access to power within the field. Through this concept, the context of international research at the institute may be easier to negotiate for SA doctoral researchers, with no specific nationality having ownership and as a result changing the issues of power inherent in any network.

Another concept that has relevance to this research when looking at the use of French is *habitus*, also developed in Bourdieu's theory of social research. *Habitus* refers to daily habits and social practices, including personal values and styles but also those shared within specific social groups. This is an area that may challenge SA doctoral researchers whilst acquiring new *habitus* from their surroundings and colleagues. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* also includes linguistic *habitus*, again reflecting the many social values of nations, social groups and contexts. This concept involves the notion of situatedness, with language adapted to the context and other speakers, or audience, with the use of appropriate genre and competences to negotiate.

For Bourdieu, it is the sum of both field and *habitus* that makes certain situations very difficult to negotiate, either for inexperienced speakers from that nation or, as is relevant to this study, SA doctoral researchers who are confronted by challenges in two of Bourdieu's social concepts at the same time within the same contexts. However, even a good adaptation of the individual to both field and *habitus* may not lead to the social acceptance they are seeking within a specific group due to other differences, for example nationality (Jackson, 2008), relevant to this study.

In relation to RQ 2 Vygotsky (1986) and Bakhtin's (1981) contribution to understanding language, culture and identities in context have also influenced this research. Their shared notion of language being situated and culture based, specific to a situation was highly relevant with the concept of history, both national and personal is an important element of this social context. Vygotsky (1986) developed the notion of human development based on social, cultural and historical aspects, the basis of sociocultural theory, with history being seen as a powerful tool influencing perception and choices in individuals, in the same way as culture (Jovanović, 2015). The theory of SCT has since been built on by others,

including the work by Lantolf and Thorne (2006) exploring the concept in relation to second language learning. One of their concepts, the notion of communication through symbols is a useful tool when working with SA doctoral researchers, allowing many ideas to be communicated, perhaps in more depth than through the use of words.

The concept of situatedness developed by Vygotsky (1986) looks at the language and culture used in a specific situation which is adapted to the appropriate genre in the context. It is this understanding of situatedness that is employed in this study, rather than Bakhtin's perception. Bakhtin's slightly different interpretation, whilst agreeing with the idea of language and culture working together to create meaning, views the speakers as having equal status, with a mutual and egalitarian sharing of cultures in a learning context. This position does not reflect the context for SA doctoral researchers, as they encounter several contexts during their stay. The various contexts have issues of power and the mutual and egalitarian sharing of cultures is not an aim for them either at work, or often outside. Bakhtin, however, also suggests the concept of not only entering the other culture to understand their perspective, but also the importance of an outsider position to avoid a simple duplication of the other culture. According to Bakhtin's theory, this dual vision then results in an enriching of the individuals' understanding as well as the possibility of achieving a new perspective in the study of language and culture (Bakhtin, 1981). Whilst these positions to understand another's culture are of interest, the inequality of the relationship between the individuals involved in exchanges is not addressed by Bakhtin, an important aspect in the situation of SA which needs consideration.

Vygotsky (1986) took the view that learning is a result of inequality between the participants with a more knowledgeable other (MKO) assisting learning development with a learner. This concept is central to his theory of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) and scaffolding, not limited to understanding culture and communication, but relevant to their study. The role of each individual in this context is therefore fixed. In relation to RQs 1 and 2, this point of view appears better adapted to the context within which the SA doctoral researchers are working.

2.4 Sociocultural and intercultural competence

The definition of culture adopted in this research is that used by Günay (2016) and Holliday (2013) being the aspects that differentiate communities from each other. Considering national culture first, this can be separated into two categories, visible and invisible. Visible is considered to be aspects such as clothing, food, artefacts or behaviour. Invisible aspects of national culture include those shared by members of the community, such as personal values, religion or other beliefs. These aspects of invisible culture carry a high risk of conflict being experienced between communities as they relate to individuals' personal values. Both visible and invisible can contribute to the positioning of SA doctoral researchers within and outside the institute. However, culture is not necessarily formed by nationality, with individuals' cultural identities also being shaped by other factors, as a community may not be linked geographically. Aspects of their personal history will also contribute to an individuals' visible and invisible culture such as family, previous education and their professional life (Günay, 2016).

Linguistic competences in two additional languages, English and French, shape the experiences of SA doctoral researchers as well as being potential barriers to integration during their stay. Various theories exist to study linguistic competences with Hymes' work that initiated the concept of CCs particularly relevant to this study. CCs include communicative competence, intercultural communicative competence and intercultural awareness and are an essential part of language learning.

2.4.1 Communicative competence

The concept of communicative competence (CC) is a useful framework to understand integration and communication on many levels with others in a multicultural and multilingual context. To put this concept in its historical context, it was first put forward by Hymes in 1972 to consider not just grammatical, lexical and phonological competences which had dominated research in applied linguistics up until this point, but also sociolinguistic and cultural competences in language learning. Perceiving second language learning through CCs allows it to be considered as situated learning, looking at it within its social, cultural and political setting, although this was a later extension of Hymes work on first language acquisition. His work was developed further by other researchers including Canale and Swain (1980) and van Ek (1980) who created a model of six 'communicative abilities'. These included the ability to situate language in a sociocultural context, sociocultural competence as well as the ability to interact

socially with others, social competence. Byram then renamed these abilities as 'savoirs' in his work (1997) and using these earlier notions, developed his descriptive model for intercultural communication. Once again, the complex situated nature of this learning is extremely relevant to this study. The SA experience means that the second language learning taking place is situated within various established environments that need to be negotiated by the learner, with social, cultural and political aspects changing in relation to the context and the other actors involved.

2.4.2 Intercultural Communicative Competence

Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) is an important aspect of dealing with a new culture and an essential component in individuals' abilities to interact with others from different cultural backgrounds, a useful competence for international or SA doctoral researchers to develop when starting their career. Culture shapes the way in which a language is structured and used as well as speakers' possible reactions and body language. The ability to negotiate communication and interaction in a satisfactory manner to both themselves and other persons involved in the discourse through the effective use of culture is a key aspect of this competence. Therefore, it can be argued that developing ICC can assist the cultural transition of SA doctoral researchers resulting in a reduction of potential barriers and feelings of isolation that may occur through cultural misunderstandings. This leads to the creation of what is known as cultural identities, described by Byram (1997) as *'the multiple, ambivalent, resourceful and elastic nature of cultural identities in an intercultural encounter'*. Within the context of the present study individuals are required to mediate between two or three cultures and cultural identities leading ultimately to numerous deconstructions and reconstructions of their identities, reflecting this view of ever changing, 'elastic' identities. Failure to do this will result in the individual remaining marginalised in the target community with a subsequent increase in the possibility of social isolation. This view of identities is compatible with a poststructuralist vision, and the one used in this study, reflecting the complex picture that emerged with the many challenges to SA doctoral researchers' identities. Within this framework, cultural identities can be considered as fluid, affecting both performed elements of the individuals' lifestyles, including such aspects as dress, festivals or food, as well as other features of identities such as nationality, religion or social class (Günay, 2016, Ting-Toomey, 2005).

2.4.3 Intercultural awareness

Intercultural awareness (IA) has its roots in the concepts known as cross-cultural capability, cross-cultural skills and cross-cultural competences. It assisted me in understanding the successful integration of certain SA doctoral researchers in French speech communities at the institute, whilst others appear to encounter insurmountable barriers. Within these various concepts, the common thread is the individual's ability to understand themselves and their function within a given community whilst being aware of the circumstances of others and how these relate to each other. This in turn will lead to greater understanding of the culture as well as culturally appropriate behaviour. Within ICC, five *savoirs* were put forward by Byram (1997). These are known as

- *savoir-être*, this describes the attitudes of the individual
- *savoir s'engager*, this describes their cultural knowledge of their own culture

In addition, he identified three further skills. He used these three skills to describe the stages needed to achieve an understanding of another culture. They are:

- *Savoir comprendre* - knowing how to understand and read aspects of the other culture through various mediums.
- *Savoir apprendre* - knowing how to learn and enrich themselves personally from the contact with the other culture and its values and behaviour.
- *Savoir faire* – knowing how to use the *savoir comprendre* and *savoir apprendre* to interact effectively within the culture.

Acquisition of these three *savoir* skills assists the individual in becoming a successful intercultural mediator, able to move between cultures and using language more effectively (Block, 2007). The inability to understand, learn from and adapt to the culture in which they find themselves leads to a risk of social isolation. As individuals are developing CCs, through what is described by Adrian Holliday as, 'reading the grammar of the culture' (Holliday, 2013) the individual requires the three *savoir* skills. This should lead to adopting and being able to re-use certain cultural practices from the target society. Using the description Holliday puts forward, cultural practices can be seen as the everyday activities that are unfamiliar to new comers within a cultural environment (Holliday, 2013).

ICC is also important in negotiating the academic skills the researchers need to master in English to successfully fulfil their role as international researchers. Whilst

it is true they will need these competences if they return to their home country or relocate to another, it was during the time of their PhD that they needed to mediate between both the international research culture and the local French culture, two very distinct linguistic and social contexts.

2.4.4 Third space

Third space was a concept originally put forward by Bhabha (1994) through his work on identity in relation to colonisation. He contends that the identities of both colonisers and colonised are by nature unstable. They, and the society in which they live, are affected by contact with the cultures around them and therefore undergo hybridization. Bhabha argues that within this hybridization, colonised peoples become aware of inconsistencies and contradictions concerning the discourse and the practice of the colonising culture creating ambivalence. This ambivalence opens up spaces between discourse and practice, now known as Third Space, allowing for resistance to the colonising culture (Bhabha, 1994).

Third space has since evolved and is a complex concept that has been viewed in various ways by different authors. Here, two will be presented, looking firstly at perhaps a more traditional view, used by Burman and Pitman (2010) whilst studying staff at an Australian university. They used the concept employed by Whitchurch (2006), a space that allows individuals to work within what may traditionally be seen as another member of staff's territory, for example, management or academia within a professional context. They also considered it to be a space where more of the actors are multi-skilled, being qualified in various areas of academia and management and so not confined to one specific skill.

However, Adrian Holliday disputes this concept of a third space. In an article reviewing the interpretation of third space by various language researchers, Adrian Holliday explained his interpretation during an interview with Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher (2019a). His conception of third space is that of a time, even a moment when, from a neutral position, it is possible to evaluate culture and its constant shifts in a more deCentralised way, leading to a vision of that culture from a different perspective, leaving behind our own ingrained concepts from our own culture and as a result increasing understanding (Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher, 2019a). He employs a capital 'C' for centre denoting where power lies within a context, using a lower case 'd', reflecting its secondary position in the power structure being explored. For example, amongst others, he presents the idea of

patriarchy being a Central power within certain contexts, with the position of other participants, women or children, being secondary and therefore deCentralised.

In this research both concepts were considered useful. The first is relevant to the cultural situations of an international environment, a new culture for SA and French-speaking doctoral researchers, with neither having ownership of the cultural knowledge. The language used in international research generally is ELF, and is accepted in working situations at the institute. Even for experienced researchers, there are cultural competences they can gain from SA doctoral researchers in this international setting, as culture is a constantly moving entity (Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher, 2019a) with SA doctoral researchers able to bring local, perhaps more recent cultural competences. Once within the social environment at the institute, there may be a change in the cultural balance with the host country language dominating (Zhang and Harzing, 2016). In this context the linguistic and cultural capital required for successful communication is that of French-speaking doctoral researchers and staff. However, Holliday's view that a deCentralised perspective can bring cultural insight with a personal and professional cultural understanding in this context is also relevant due to possible contact between individuals with many cultural backgrounds, but also a shared interest in their chosen discipline.

2.4.5 Language assumptions in a second language context

Within countries where language learners' TLs are spoken, in what has been referred to as naturalistic second language context, four assumptions about the possibilities language learners have to communicate were first contested by Broeder, a co-author in Bremer et al. (1996). Further research in this area has supported Broeder's findings, presented below (Zhang and Harzing, 2016; Block, 2007). The original study looked at migrants for whom language learning was not the primary reason for being in the country and who may need to work. SA doctoral researchers in science are paid for their research project, often through commercial contracts, contrary to language students travelling to a country for a short period for SA who usually have a linguistic objective. The potential difficulties of this situation are addressed in more detail in the section 2.5 discussing identities.

The first of Broeder's findings is the idea that the simple fact of being in the country will lead to language learning and contact with the TL. Research has

shown that being present in a country does not lead to contact with local speakers of the TL (Nam, 2018; Kalocsai, 2014). Secondly, the onus is likely to be on the language learner to communicate, creating mutual understanding in the exchange as well as maintaining the conversation. Research studying language choices of host country employees (HCE) also found this barrier at a multinational company in China, showing Chinese-speaking employees choosing Mandarin. This led to the exclusion of others from the exchanges, with any effort to communicate in this multinational context remaining the responsibility of the migrant employees (Zhang and Harzing, 2016). This situation can often occur outside work practices and in social situations within the workplace, a point raised by SA doctoral researchers in this research and explored in section **Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.** Thirdly, self-perception and that of others may be based on their linguistic capabilities (Flowerdew, 2008). The final assumption is the equality of power between the speakers, allowing an equal possibility to speak and be spoken to. The role of stigma however, can have an influence on communication between speakers (Flowerdew, 2008; Sawir et al., 2008), with both the stigma and communication between speakers having a great impact on identities.

2.5 Identity

Identity is a discourse of (not) belonging, which is continually negotiated and renegotiated within a localised context. It is therefore an ongoing process of becoming, always provisional, always subject to change.... identities are necessarily relational – as much as identity is about who ‘I am’, it is also about who ‘I am not’. Meinhof and Galasinski, (2005 p.8)

To explore the third research question, looking specifically at researchers' identities as communicators during SA, this research draws on work by various researchers, including Norton (1995 and 2000), Bhatia (2011), Block (2007) and Ting-Toomey (2005) as well as the sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher, Bourdieu. As language use is central to the construction of identities, how SA doctoral researchers' positions were modified through their language skills and choices was of great interest. Identities constantly shift through their construction and reconstruction in relation to circumstances (Joseph, 2016) and are in constant flux with linguistic demands and challenges in culturally unfamiliar settings for SA doctoral researchers. A framework that considers this aspect of identities is the identity negotiation theory (INT) from Ting-Toomey (2005 p.217) who describes identities as *'reflective self-images constructed, experienced and communicated*

by the individuals within a culture and in a particular interaction situation'. This description of identities is useful to understand negotiation between individuals during interactions and symbolic communication, important to the poststructuralist concept of identities. Ting-Toomey's framework also views both identities and culture as dynamic and evolving within a specific situation, adopting the poststructuralist concept in a project of co-construction.

Language is central to the negotiation of identities and are interdependent (Pavlenko, 2004), which poses specific challenges in second language contexts. In addition, language choice not only allows the construction and negotiation of identities, but also for the individual to decode the choices made by others (Pavlenko, 2004). The perception of social interactions, sociopragmatics, leads to personal choices being made to express individuals' desired identities within the target community (Kinging, 2015). Access to social interactions with other speakers in addition to pragmalinguistic resources is therefore essential for language learners to express their identities in the new context. A further complication for any language learner is that personal choice is also made by individuals who are proficient in that culture for their own identities. Therefore their sociopragmatics will express their own perception of social interaction at the time within the target culture (TC), rather than a perfect blueprint. The concept of this personal choice in sociopragmatics allows individuals who are proficient in the language and culture to assist or block access, modifying the identities of less proficient members. It can therefore be argued that to improve their position within a community, SA doctoral researchers need to understand the TC in addition to the pragmalinguistic resources they require to gain greater control over negotiation of their identities. Without this, they remain in a weak position with a corresponding decrease in power in social interactions. Understanding of the TC allows greater access to the community and greater possibilities to use their pragmalinguistic resources (Kinging, 2015).

Whilst sociopragmatics explore how individuals may negotiate their identities in various contexts, it also helps to understand why certain choices are made. Sociopragmatic identities are negotiated continuously with resulting issues of power that are also found in the poststructuralist concept of an individual's social identities. The poststructuralist concept of social identities is they are non-unitary, interdependent as well as changing over time as a result of issues of power between individuals and members of groups (Baxter, 2016; Block, 2007) again, a

position that will be affected to an extent by linguistic capabilities. Success in discourses that are continuously imposed, negotiated and contested within the group is influenced by effective communication. The concept of power and how individuals' identities can be formed through this struggle for power to achieve social recognition is central to the poststructuralist view of identities. Therefore, from a poststructuralist point of view, identities are not positioned either in the individual, or even the group, but rather constructed through discourse and interaction, and as a result remain in constant fluctuation (Baxter, 2016).

Norton (2000) challenges the idea of identities being linked to culture. She views influences on the person's self-perception and those of others as not just being a question of ethnicity, but also relate to age, sex, social group and many other factors of the person's life, also varying depending on the relationship with others and their aspirations for the future. Culture is an important aspect of language learning, and possibly, as with identities, the use of the plural, cultures is more appropriate, allowing for variations that occur, not just with the individual, but also the context. In addition, for Norton (1995), the individual does not have to remain passive in the construction of their identities, perceiving identities as something that the speaker can modify by repositioning themselves within the group. She argues it is impossible for the individual to be a fully participating member and to have their voice heard from certain positions, supported by other research studies (Calikoglu, 2018; Joseph, 2016; Block, 2007). Through this repositioning of themselves within the group, it is possible for SA doctoral researchers to create identities that give them a more powerful position as a member and therefore the right to participate and be heard. From a poststructuralist point of view, identities are constantly in flux, being renegotiated with identity construction through self-positioning also involving repositioning by others (Bhatia, 2011).

2.5.1 SA doctoral researcher identities

Doctorate studies are considered to be empowering, raising self-esteem and developing the individual's confidence and altering their self-perception (Webber, 2017). Whilst this may sound very positive, it can be a painful process, alienating the individual from those that they have been close to before. The resilience needed, described by Caruana (2014), requires '*intellect, physical robustness and emotional stability*' is an unexpected necessity for SA for many. Changes in identities can be yet another reason for the feelings of isolation experienced by SA doctoral researchers.

Language and cultural differences lead to a further area of identity that has relevance for this research, identity construction through ideology (Preece, 2016). These are identities that are ideologically informed, accepted positions that produce expected behaviour in interactions, depending on the ideological view of the individuals involved. These vary depending on the context, for example, it may be an international researcher or migrant showing signs of visible culture, such as dress. The position and subsequent identities of the researcher will therefore remain in constant fluctuation, whether in or outside the institute, with consequences for participation in the relevant contexts.

2.5.2 Migrant identities and SA doctoral researchers

Migrants can be described as individuals who have moved abroad, across geographical borders into a new culture and language (Block, 2007) and will need to communicate in day to day interactions. This description describes the situation outside the institute for SA doctoral researchers, and as for any migrant, they may encounter typical barriers linked to habitus and social capital in their daily lives. Stigmatisation within a community can also be a result of migrant status itself.

The loss of social capital can have a great impact on the identities of SA doctoral researchers. As PhD doctoral researchers their social capital from language is likely to have been high previously and they will have been acknowledged as good communicators in their home countries (Due et al., 2015). They have all successfully used the language or languages they required for studies up to this point having all gained qualifications to Masters Level. However, when moving to their host country they are likely to have lost a certain amount of their linguistic capital, and as a result, social capital (Bourdieu, 1991). They may maintain their level in their home language and be recognised as a speaker of that language during their stay, but the competences they have to communicate in their home language are likely to have little or no importance in their new context. Consequently, they lose the position and social capital gained through their home language (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014). This is a barrier that can also be encountered by many migrants, often leading to them being positioned as poorly educated due to their level in the TL (Block, 2007). Mastery of a home language is not viewed in the same manner as an additional language, which adds to the value of study, for example, Spanish-speakers in the United States gain very little linguistic capital if it was learnt as a community language, rather than an academic subject (Kinging, 2004). Conversely, the acquisition of a second language for

academic purposes, for example ELF to work within the research community, brings with it symbolic and social capital allowing access to social networks that would be denied a migrant worker learning the language of the host country (Kinging, 2004). This mix can become very confusing for doctoral researchers undertaking their studies abroad. They are confronted by extremely diverse contexts, ranging from their university or institute for work and study, where they are seen as educated doctoral researchers, through social contexts at the same establishment, where their identities become more ambiguous and outside this partially protected area where visible national culture may result in them being positioned as a migrant.

Being positioned by others as incompetent communicators may also reflect on their perceived competence in their subject due to unfamiliar language practices (Block, 2007) by others, or even a view that they adopt of themselves (Due et al., 2015). Norton (2000) recognises this negative positioning and suggests that language learners can reflect on language practices with TL speakers to explore language learning opportunities as well as social interaction. However, this is not always easy for the learner to achieve, especially as both SA and local doctoral researchers, tend to have extremely busy timetables. Although for different reasons, these time constraints can produce similar barriers to access to language learning encountered by migrants (Omoniyi, 2016; Phillimore, 2011). For doctoral researchers undertaking their studies abroad, the emotional turmoil that the individual may experience at this time, even including identity chaos or loss is painful and disconcerting (Due et al., 2015; Jackson, 2008; Ting-Toomey, 2005), being destabilising for them with negative effects on their well-being.

SA doctoral researchers can be positioned subjectively by others as migrants through dominant ideologically accepted values (Canagarajah, 2004) which may impact on their identities. This positioning is difficult to challenge or reject, being constructed through accepted views held by the host population. Block (2007) considers migrant identities as the most challenging identities for the individual, involving a weaker position due to linguistic and cultural differences in addition to the many negative stereotypes leading to stigmatisation within the community. This remains a barrier for many individuals despite support through contact with communities in home countries. Communication through forms of digital technology, such as instant messaging allows communication that is similar to that which the individuals could experience if they were together, and so reduces

isolation (Mikal, 2011), although has been shown through research to be less effective (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014).

In addition to potentially being positioned as a migrant, SA doctoral researchers are positioned as international researchers through their work at the institute. These identities may also be modified by the fact of living and working abroad (Bhatia, 2011). Through repositioning themselves, it is theoretically possible for the researcher to negotiate identities that give them a more powerful position in the community and therefore the right to participate and be heard. This may be at the cost of their identities shifting more rapidly than would be the case otherwise (Bhatia, 2011) being more uncomfortable for the individual. Whilst international researchers may have similar difficulties to those studying in their own country, the effect can be intensified by the local language and the separation from their usual support network (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014). So whilst not being positioned as migrant workers in the establishment, the intensifiers (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014) such as the local language may modify social aspects. Further intensifiers are experienced due to changing culture, or cultures. This experience can produce emotional insecurity (Ting-Toomey, 2005), with concepts they have always taken for granted being challenged. Social and cultural norms change requiring identity reconstruction, a complex and painful process bringing their previous way of life into question. In addition, the changing nature of identities for SA doctoral researchers, requiring them to reconstruct their identities, is undertaken in an unfamiliar host environment, negotiating with others who are better accustomed to the culture (Barkhuizen, 2017). A possible solution that SA doctoral researchers and migrants can adopt to protect themselves is the choice to refuse to use the TL and so preserve their personal self-image (Pellegrino, 2005). Unfortunately this solution will reinforce the potential barriers discussed in section 2.2 looking at socialisation, with the very real risk of isolation and loneliness for the individual (Sawir et al., 2008).

It can also be argued that SA doctoral researchers may perceive their experiences outside the research context in ways closer to those of migrants than those of SA students. Being abroad for a three year contract requires them to organise housing, bank accounts, healthcare and possibly childcare without the necessary language competences and habitus. This longer period in the country may lead to greater impacts on their identities than for SA students (Kinging, 2015), with this situation being more likely to lead to a need to replace their historical, social and

linguistic capital rapidly. The challenges to identities may therefore be nearer to those for migrants than those of traditional SA students. In addition, the principal reason for their SA is not the language and culture. Identities assigned to migrants frequently reflect social or economic biases, with barriers and stigma existing for migrants and migrant communities (Kinging, 2015) which may be experienced by SA doctoral researchers outside their immediate context of work and study.

Language learning and effective use of language competences contribute to the possibility of greater social justice within a community. Despite this, access to language classes in host countries often remains problematic for migrants (Omoniyi, 2016). Enrolment in classes for French as a foreign language is required for SA doctoral researchers by law in France, discussed in section 2.2.2 with lessons organised at the university. However, research has shown that migrant populations are not always able to attend these classes regularly (Phillimore, 2011), a potential risk for SA doctoral researchers due to their heavy workload. During social interaction SA doctoral researchers and other migrants may also encounter the inequalities discussed in section 2.4.5 presenting language assumptions in second language contexts. These inequalities include barriers within the community to the right to speak, be spoken to and listened to (Bourdieu, 1991; Block, 2007). This leads to the impossibility of questioning ideas and having to accept comments and positioning from others creating a further inequality, reflecting ideological informed identities (Preece, 2016).

The situation of being denied the right to speak, be spoken to and be listened to leads to feelings of isolation and frustration. Isolation can be a very real emotional barrier to well-being for SA doctoral researchers (Due et al., 2015; Sawir et al., 2008). It is a potential risk having been reported by migrants in many diverse workplace experiences (Schigen et al., 2019). This barrier is also seen within support networks, as within the host country others also undertaking SA have been shown to be the main source of support for SA students (Sawir et al., 2008), pointing to less contact and friendships within the local population. As a result, social isolation should not just be considered as an unfortunate emotional challenge for SA doctoral researchers, but an important aspect of their well-being, affecting motivation and academic achievement. The resulting impact of this situation is primarily a barrier for SA doctoral researchers, but possible negative outcomes ultimately also affect the host institution (Due et al. 2015; Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014).

2.5.3 Multilingual identities and study abroad

A further aspect of this research is how the use of English and French affects SA doctoral researchers' identities. Although linked to positioning and ideologically informed identities, this considers the personal impact the use of two additional languages has on SA doctoral researchers, an unusual aspect of the context of this study. Whilst challenges to identities may take place with all doctoral researchers, it is likely to be intensified if further languages and cultures are required and as a result, second language identities (Barkhuizen, 2017).

Ting-Toomey (2005) offers a framework to consider identities from her identity negotiation theory (INT). INT considers that humans have certain basic needs, such as identity security, inclusion and connections to groups as well as predictability and consistency in communication to establish trust. They need to establish positive identities within groups and with other individuals, although showing respect and understanding for others may be achieved through different cultural norms. Achieving satisfactory identity negotiation therefore requires cultural knowledge of both themselves and the target community in addition to effective identity-based communication skills.

Support and assistance to understand and interpret the comments and actions of others is very useful to SA doctoral researchers to negotiate the complex mix of contexts they will encounter. In addition to the loss of their cultural and linguistic capital, the reduced support network available during SA impacts on the success of their identity negotiation. However, the individual also plays a role, with self-confidence coupled with a desire to explore the other culture, reflecting on observations, listening and intuition being essential to successful participation in communities (Caruana, 2014). Those who experience positive identity security are likely to interact more with members of the host culture, whereas studies have shown that security-vulnerability can lead to the reverse (Hotta and Ting-Toomey 2013). The identities of researchers are of the utmost importance for the well-being of individuals', whether in or outside the teaching establishment, with obvious consequences for participation in both research and social communities. These complex issues may result in individuals making choices of which communities to invest in. For example, little contact with local students or speakers of the host country language in non-English-speaking countries has been shown with students and doctoral researchers despite the possibility of ELF (Calikoglu,

2018; Kalocsai, 2014). A lack of contact may also lead to a negative impact on an individual's identities through misunderstandings and stigmatisation.

2.5.4 Stigma

The study of stigmas was developed by Goffman (1959). They have the potential to lead to a profound impact on the identities of individuals. Goffman divided stigmas into three categories those of physical deformity, personal characteristics and race, nationality or religion. Through stigma, such attributes as being poorly educated, lazy or of low intelligence as result of their nationality, may be given to doctoral researchers as they may not follow the local conventions for social contacts and academic competences, discussed in Flowerdew (2008). The use of English for research in host countries and therefore potential stigma is similar in many respects to its use in their home countries, being linked to the individuals' level in ELF. This is an important difference for many SA doctoral researchers who suffer stigma in their own countries for their home languages, as stigma surrounding minority home languages remains a possibility in certain countries, making English a more neutral choice.

2.6 Summary

This literature review has explored the complex environment encountered by SA doctoral researchers, looking at the issues surrounding their reported experiences. Firstly, the literature has addressed language choice, focusing on language socialisation, and the situated nature of learning within the new communities they will encounter during their stay abroad. This includes language choice as well as adapting and negotiating identities within the evolution of the contexts that may be encountered, addressing these from a sociocultural basis through communicative competences, intercultural competence, intercultural awareness and third space. The frameworks used to explore are cross-disciplinary based on sociolinguistics sociocultural theories, with work from Bourdieu, Vygotsky and Bakhtin as well as situated learning. Finally, this literature review has looked at identities, focusing on the work by Norton, Bhatia, Ting-Toomey and Block through a poststructuralist approach to identities. The choice of these frameworks and research questions has been guided by my epistemological stance on language learning and use in a multilingual context. This is presented and discussed in the following chapter, methodology. My research questions are:

1. What influences the choice of language for the researchers in a multilingual context?
2. How do study abroad researchers negotiate between the two languages they require for their study abroad?
3. What are the implications of the use of English and French for the researchers' identities?

Whilst there is more interest in research into SA students experiences in English-speaking countries, there is a lack of research into the experiences of doctoral researchers generally, with few researching the experiences of SA in an English-speaking country, and even fewer for SA in a non-English-speaking country and the cultural diversity this entails. As shown in this chapter some of the research undertaken linked to the experiences of SA doctoral researchers in English-speaking countries has relevance to SA in non-English-speaking countries. SA in non-English-speaking countries for non-English-speaking SA students and doctoral researchers has increased in part due to initiatives such as the Bologna Declaration (EHEA, 2020) to encourage freedom of movement for work and studies within Europe. This has been contrasted with other aspects of language use, such as Toubon and Fioraso laws and measures put forward by the Nordic council to protect local languages. Consequently this thesis aims to explore a context that has now become a frequent occurrence affecting the lives of many SA doctoral researchers throughout the world every year. The methodology used to explore the RQs to investigate their experiences is described the in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In this chapter, I present the research design and methods I have used in my research. It is divided into five sections. The first considers the epistemology, ontology and positionality surrounding the research. The second looks at the conceptual framework I have used to explore and address the research questions as well as the reasons for the choice of this framework for this study. It also explores the choice of case studies and presents why they were particularly adapted to this context. The third section then reviews the specific ethical concerns of the research, and how these were resolved. The fourth section presents the data collected from the study. I present the changes made from the pilot study either as a result of the needs of the participants, or the constraints of the institute and its commercial role. I also discuss the methods used and also how these were adapted to suit my research. Finally, in the fifth section I present the process of my thematic analysis.

3.1 Epistemology, ontology and positionality

Epistemology, the theory of knowledge, aims to improve the understanding of what knowledge is in its various forms, such as scientific knowledge. It also considers the plausibility of knowledge and beliefs as well as its acquisition (Rescher, 2003). This research explores not only the acquisition of languages and cultures, but also the lived experiences of seven SA doctoral researchers and supervisors. To achieve this and address the research questions in this study, epistemological questions surrounding the research and its findings needed to be considered. I used an interpretive research paradigm (Hammersley, 2007). Interpreting the data through this paradigm is fundamentally subjective, attempting to understand how the individuals in the research made sense of their surroundings and experiences. As exploratory research, discovering the rationale behind what people do and say, an interpretive approach is an appropriate paradigm.

This interpretive approach is also appropriate as, despite working with various research groups, my position is etic in relation to these communities. This has always been an interesting aspect of my time at the institute. Doctoral researchers and supervisors have often confided in me about work or their personal life, in part, possibly due to this etic position. In addition, the supervisors are mainly women of a similar age to me and who have children at the same stage in their studies as my son. However, I am not someone they see every day and the

contact I have with their co-workers is also limited. The confidential side of the discussions is increased as lessons are on an individual basis, working with the doctoral researcher, researcher or supervisor's own research which contributes to building trust between us.

My interest to undertake this research stems from two experiences. The first was that I have been a SA student myself in France. The cultural changes, as well as academic requirements I encountered were very challenging and often confusing at times. Following this I taught English, mainly to French-speaking students, but with a variety of age groups, from pre-school to university. I then started working at the institute where I undertook this study. There I work with French-speaking researchers and doctoral researchers as well as NEFSB doctoral researchers and researchers. During my Master of Arts in Education (Applied Linguistics) I undertook a small scale research study, looking at generic stages used in scientific academic writing with a Chinese-speaking doctoral researcher and began to realise the complex linguistic environment in which she was living as well as studying. This planted the seeds for what became my own doctoral research, exploring this situation in more depth with a view to a better understanding of their needs and to put measures in place to enable them to gain the most from their decision to study abroad.

This group, often considered as self-sufficient, 'good' students, needed to be given a voice to promote greater understanding of the challenges and barriers they experience during their stay. A stay of three years can be very arduous if the barriers they are experiencing are not appreciated by those around them and efforts made to resolve them.

3.2 Frameworks

3.2.1 Case study framework

To undertake the research I used a case study framework to explore the doctoral researchers' use of language as well as how these experiences may modify their identity. Working with seven doctoral researchers I chose to use individual case studies as an effective way to explore the experiences of the individual researchers concerned, allowing new perspectives on the context to be revealed. This approach opened up previously unconsidered areas of potential research, offering new insights that can be explored further, either within the present or future research (Duff, 2008).

The decision to work with case studies was guided by several factors. They were an appropriate choice to explore the individual nature of the SA doctoral researchers' experiences. The exploratory nature of this research allowed the SA doctoral researchers to speak about the language and cultural aspects of studying abroad through experiences of their own choosing, in their own words (Duff, 2008; Riessman, 2008; Dörnyei, 2007; Morita, 2004). Professional activities were considered within the boundaries of their communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). Finally, the learning situation of the researchers lent itself to case studies. There were few group activities, other than a limited amount of laboratory work in this learning environment, with researchers frequently finding themselves in individual learning contexts.

A criticism that has been levelled at case studies is a lack of generalisability. Riessman (2008) and Flyvbjerg (2006) argue that case studies provide context-dependent knowledge, allowing the complexities of each case to be considered, rather than considering one aspect, isolated from potentially contributing factors, in multiple cases. As case studies are of an exploratory nature, unexpected experiences of the SA doctoral researchers in this research were considered, potentially relevant in similar professional contexts (Burgess et al., 2006). This research provides an insight into individual experiences of the SA doctoral researchers in a complex, but a more frequent educational context (Campus France, 2017) which without case studies may remain hidden (Duff, 2008).

3.2.2 Ethnographic approach

The study also has aspects of an ethnographic approach with the investigation having two features, which are central to ethnographic research (Dörnyei, 2007). Firstly, the research was exploratory and secondly, unlike positivist research it did not start with any specific hypothesis to test, but investigated the personal experiences of the participants. This method of investigating has led to the evolution of this research as it progressed. The decision to include elements of an ethnographic approach was also made to allow the cultural basis for values and behaviour in addition to the language use to be explored within their social context (Kian and Beach, 2019; Kalocsai, 2014; Duff, 2008). Bourdieu (1991) also argued that to explore language use, the concepts of capital, social, symbolic, cultural and linguistic must be taken into account to understand the choices and issues of power moving through specific fields, or social contexts and habitus. An ethnographic approach allows researchers to explore not only what is happening,

but also why, how and who is impacted as a result (Kalocsai, 2014), all areas considered in this research.

However, a purely ethnographic approach was not possible. Despite sharing some emic perspectives with the SA doctoral researchers, presented in table 1 below, I was unable to put myself into a position to live their doctoral experience. I had direct personal contact with the participants outside the study and was not just a researcher for them. However I was not part of their everyday life. In addition, the information was reported rather than observed other than the laboratory observations (Angrosino, 2005). The limitations of the laboratory observations are discussed in section 6.5.2.

Ethnography draws on data collected in a specific environment. As a result, it is a good approach to look closely at unexplored situations from the participants' perspective, giving an emic, or insiders' perspective (Kian and Beach, 2019; Dörnyei, 2007). This requires greater knowledge of the context in which the research is undertaken and more time spent with the participants. Therefore, whilst this study is not ethnographic research, an ethnographic approach was possible as I know the context well and have had contact with the SA doctoral researchers and the supervisors over an extended period of time. Within this setting the contact is often work related, but as discussed below, the research they are undertaking is so specific, we invariably meet on a one to one basis. This allows for more personal contact with individual researchers and their experience at the institute or their lives generally may be discussed informally during sessions.

Exploring culture also lends itself to this ethnographic approach (Kian and Beach, 2019; Kalocsai, 2014; Duff, 2008; Jackson, 2008). Culture can be considered as the features that distinguish one community from another (Günay, 2016). However, individuals have membership of more than one community, leading to fluidity in their personal culture. An obvious form of culture which plays a role in the perception of both the SA doctoral researchers and others during their time in France is national culture, discussed previously in the literature review, looking at sociocultural and intercultural competences in section 2.4 as well as migrant identity, in section 2.5.2. Culture in this research refers not only to individual, ethnic cultures but also the shared culture between individual actors, with the culture of the research institute co-constructed by those working at the establishment. Through this lens, I considered culture, and cultural identity, to be

fluid and dynamic, not limited by geographical or social boundaries. The possibilities of understanding and adapting to these cultures, ultimately facilitating or denying access to communities, by the SA doctoral researchers are explored in question 3 of this research.

In addition to emic perspectives etic, outsider perspectives, were also considered, working together to build an understanding of the context (Kian and Beach, 2019; Dörnyei, 2007). An emic perspective can produce certain barriers, including issues of my own reflexivity and my personal perception of the individuals' personal history. My position was also a possible obstacle for certain participants, being a potential barrier for both the SA doctoral researchers and the supervisors. It was possible for me to be considered an insider as I have worked with researchers at the institute for six or seven years. I was also aware of both, which are discussed in chapter 6.

I have summarised the main points specifically relating to my emic and etic positions at the institute in the table below.

Table 1 Emic and etic positions

Insider (emic)	Outsider (etic)
I am also a speaker of another language	I have a different cultural background to the doctoral researchers
I have studied in France as a speaker of another language	I do not work in a research group
I was also a doctoral researcher	I am not a scientist
The supervisors are mainly women of my age	I do not have the scientific knowledge of the researchers or supervisors
	I am older than the SA doctoral researchers

3.2.3 Other theories in the research design

Other theories that informed this research include Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, which considers language as situated and culture based is also employed. In addition, Vygotsky's work was built on by others including Lantolf and Thorne (2006) who researched the concept in relation to second language learning. Vygotsky's perception of situatedness and concepts from legitimate peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991) were used to understand the situated learning within the institute in the SA doctoral researchers' communities of

practice. The varying approaches to communicative competences also contributed to a greater understanding of the differences in the barriers reported, as did the use of third space. In addition to the model created by Coleman (2013) to visualise the contexts that the doctoral researchers encounter in France, these theories assisted in understanding the complex contexts that the SA doctoral researchers encounter. These insights into their lived experiences allowed research questions 1 and 2 to be considered more effectively.

For research question 3, to look at how the SA doctoral researchers position themselves in the various contexts, I used the work by Norton (2000), Bhatia (2011) and Block (2007) as well as Identity negotiation theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005) to understand identity challenges and the well-being of the doctoral researchers. The research by Caruana (2014), Sawir et al. (2008) and Due et al. (2015) also helped comprehend the frustration and isolation experienced in SA. These theories, presented in the literature review, also assisted in working towards possible solutions.

3.2.4 Other research approaches considered

In addition to the approaches used in this research, I considered two other approaches. Firstly I considered the possibility of using action research to explore the teaching of academic writing in English and the challenges the SA doctoral researchers faced. I was able to learn a great deal from my EMA during my Masters through a similar project, evaluating previous and new ways of working. These included employing Systemic Functional Linguistics to assist the SA doctoral researcher to structure her presentation, which proved very successful. She appreciated and understood the more methodical dissection of text and found it invaluable to write in the required manner. However, I moved away from this approach as it was no longer adapted to my research for reasons explained in section 1.2.

With the change in focus of my study, I then considered another research approach, narrative enquiry. This would have allowed the participants to explain their experiences through stories. It was potentially particularly appropriate as identities are constructed through story-telling. The narrator is able to position themselves within the narrative as they wish, presenting the world from their perspective. Stories can also promote change, giving a voice to specific communities (Riessman, 2008), again an important aspect of this study. However,

whilst this approach may have been possible for certain SA doctoral researchers, not all the participants had the vocabulary or language structures for the genre of story-telling. A further potential language barrier was the fatigue that was evident during the interviews also making this an unsuitable choice.

3.3 Participants

The participants were seven SA doctoral researchers undertaking a PhD in France. The criteria I used to make the choice of participants were the following:

- To be NEFSB doctoral researchers
- To be studying for a PhD in science
- To be undertaking the three years of study in France

This choice of research participants was made to meet the needs of my research with its specific linguistic challenges to researchers at the institute. The sampling therefore for this research is purposeful criterion sampling (Dörnyei, 2007). The SA doctoral researchers participating in the research were microbiology doctoral researchers, mainly working and studying in research contracts for the food industry or immunology. There was however, one exception, Chao studying for a PhD in physics who contacted me directly as he found my research very interesting. I included him in the research as he met the criteria for my choice of participants. This allowed the scope of my research to be widened with the inclusion of a further research group. The doctoral researchers themselves had all chosen to work and study abroad. Below, I present a brief description of each of the SA doctoral researchers. The information comes mainly from my personal contact with them. The lessons are on a one to one basis in a quiet area of the institute, often in a small conference room in the library. This has often led to a closer relationship than with members of a class or group of learners with the time for exchanges of more personal information. All information was used in the study only with the SA doctoral researchers' consent. Other information used in this presentation of the participant SA doctoral researchers was given during the interviews. The SA doctoral researchers are presented using their chosen pseudonyms, for reasons explained below in section 3.5, ethics.

3.3.1 Abelino

Abelino is a Brazilian doctoral researcher. He is very relaxed in his manner and outgoing and very much enjoys social contact with others. As is the case for all the SA doctoral researchers, he is slightly older than most of the French-speaking

doctoral researchers and is in his thirties. He is originally from Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. He lived in the United States of America for one academic year where he studied microbiology at Masters Level, something he has found very useful in his studies for understanding articles as well as professional networking. In addition, he studied English in Brazil from the start of his secondary education, but had never studied French before starting his PhD.

He chose to study in France rather than Brazil due to what he considers to be an unstable political and economic situation in his home country. He would prefer to work abroad after he has finished his studies for the same reason. As a result, he views English as more relevant to his studies than French as it would allow him to work in science in the country of his choice. He also feels disappointed that he has not been able to create more social links in France. As I took the researchers' valuable time for my research, I asked each participant if I could be of any assistance to them in return. Interestingly, he requested a trip to a café in the town centre for himself and another Brazilian doctoral researcher at the institute with my son which was a great success.

3.3.2 Koroush

Koroush is from Iran. He speaks Azerbaijani Turkish and Persian which he speaks with friends and family members as well as having a very good level in English. He spent a year in Ireland during his studies. He is married to an Iranian, with whom he speaks Persian. She is also hoping to study for a PhD here, having obtained her Masters in Iran. Whilst working in Iran he required Persian for studies and work. There are several languages spoken in Iran with, according to Koroush, a distinct hierarchy existing between them. The language of his family is Azerbaijani Turkish which was the only language he spoke until starting school age six.

Through Koroush, I learnt that there are many different ethnic groups within Iran with diverse cultures and languages. The main group speaks Persian with Azerbaijani Turkish-speakers as the second largest group. The only official language in Iran is Persian, also known as Farsi, and therefore this is the language used in the schools and education generally. Arabic, however, is recognized as the language of religion, although Arabic-speakers are a much smaller minority, about two percent of the population. Otherwise Koroush explained to me that the language of choice in Iran for education, administration and very often work is Persian and that even an Azerbaijani Turkish accent could

affect career possibilities. He describes English as freedom. For him English allows the freedom of exchanging information locally and globally, not just in science but generally. He also views English as freedom for researchers in their work and freedom of movement for those who are competent communicators. As a consequence, he feels that English is very important for him professionally. Despite this, he had hoped to stay in France and work here, but due to visa restrictions this seems unlikely. He had not studied French before coming here and finds he has very little time in his schedule to attend classes and the difficulties for him to stay have reduced his interest to learn.

3.3.3 Alex

Alex was born in the Soviet Union and brought up in a Russian-speaking area of Ukraine with a Russian-speaking father and Ukrainian-speaking mother. Although he speaks both languages, he considers Russian his home language. This is despite being educated in part at a Ukrainian-speaking school and having a Ukrainian-speaking mother. He has a good level of English and a relaxed attitude to speaking other languages, being happy to communicate without worrying about mistakes. His education was in both Ukrainian and Russian, with primary and secondary in Ukrainian and his higher education in Russian. He explained that, like Koroush in Iran, in Ukraine there is an inequality between the linguistic capital that can be gained through the two languages. Russian still opens doors to higher education and better qualified jobs than may be possible for someone speaking Ukrainian. This is despite Ukrainian now being the official language.

Alex now lives with his French-speaking girlfriend and so often communicates in French at home, although they also try to communicate in English at times. He enjoys exploring different cultures and has contact with speakers of other languages in many different European countries. He is the only SA doctoral researcher that reported using only French with his colleagues. Most of his work however, is done alone and he says that communication with colleagues is usually very brief.

3.3.4 Manon

Manon is in her early thirties and is from Recife in Brazil. She studied English throughout her secondary education which she described her as being left able to conjugate the verb 'to be' in the present tense after ten years! She did not study French before coming here, but made a great effort to attend the classes offered by the university as well as personal investment. For example, she listens to the

news in French each day on the radio as she walks to the institute to have new subjects to discuss with her French colleagues as well as improving her vocabulary. In the group I studied she was the only person to undertake this activity.

She is very interested in the different cultures she is able to explore in Europe and has been enjoying travelling in Europe whilst in France. From Brazil, this was impossible due to the distances involved. Her fiancé lives in Brazil, and despite him visiting her in Europe this has not been an easy situation and she reported using social media and messaging services more frequently throughout the day than the other SA doctoral researchers.

3.3.5 Cong

Cong is from mainland China. He speaks both Mandarin Chinese and a local dialect, which has no official name but is known locally as Xinyi. He studied English for ten years in China from primary school to university as an undergraduate, but said it was not offered to postgraduate students, although they were required to read publications in English. The groups were very large, with between fifty to seventy students in the group at school. This he felt, was a great disadvantage. It prevented any speaking in the group and even limited the possibility of answering questions, resulting in the work becoming mainly reading and writing. Also contact with people from outside his region was limited as he comes from a small town which resulted in pronunciation difficulties. He explained that some sounds were difficult for him to hear or repeat, due to his home language. As his teachers and other students had the same limitations these were impossible to detect or improve. He also explained that in China generally students only study one additional language which is usually English and as a result French was not offered in Cong's area. He had not studied French before moving to France for his PhD and did not attend the French language classes offered by the university. He cited the workload for his PhD and the minimal use of French professionally later as his reasons for not developing his competences in the language. He does not plan to stay in France after his studies as he has a fiancée in China who does not wish to leave her country.

Cong also told me that in China if other members of a research group were present that did not speak Chinese, Chinese-speaking researchers would use English. He frequently feels left out socially as French is used in certain contexts

at the institute which he had not expected and found hard to accept. He found this all the more difficult to accept and understand as there can be other members of the institute from other non-French-speaking countries that may be present when this barrier occurs.

3.3.6 Chao

Chao is from a large city in the South of China. Before coming to France he studied English in China, but not French. Since arriving in France he has tried to progress in French although he does not have time for the classes offered at the university. He prefers the French language to English as he enjoys the sound of French and despite finding English useful, he feels that it is often divorced from its culture when used as a lingua franca. Chao expresses great interest in other cultures and sees being able to develop languages as well as his scientific studies as an advantage that he could not have had by staying in China to gain his PhD.

Chao is the only Chinese-speaker I know who speaks only Mandarin, although he has always been in contact with other Chinese languages. His parents are both from different regions in China to the region where they live. Although they both have their own regional Chinese language and there is a local language, they communicate in Mandarin. Therefore Mandarin is spoken at home and was used for his education. It is also the language he uses with his friends rather than the regional language.

He reported experiencing many changes and challenges to his identity when he came to France. In addition to changing country and educational system to study for a PhD, he also married in China over the summer between finishing his Masters and starting his PhD studies here. His wife is Chinese, so the language used in the home is Mandarin. During his second year his parents-in-law also visited and stayed with them for three months, communicating in Mandarin. This seemed to be a stressful time for Chao as the flat was very small had only one bedroom. Chao's heavy workload for his PhD studies as well as trying to adapt culturally and linguistically to his new environment was made more complex with so little private space. Chao has now finished his PhD and is undertaking further studies in Paris.

3.3.7 Carlitos

Carlitos is from Brazil and is in his early thirties. He studied English whilst he was in Brazil more extensively than the other Brazilian participants. In addition to

studying English at school and university, encouraged by his mother, he attended extra lessons for eleven years. He speaks English well and feels that this gave him a great advantage when working towards his Masters in Brazil as he was able to read scientific articles without too much difficulty. According to Carlitos this was not possible for many other students which he viewed as a factor for them failing their studies. Consequently, he views his level in English as extremely important in his research work.

He enjoys learning French and sees it as an additional possibility for him to develop personally whilst he is undertaking his PhD here. He feels his level is lower in French than English, as he only studied it for seven months prior to arriving here and uses English at times to check his understanding of information he has been given in French. He was the only SA doctoral researcher who studied French before commencing his PhD in France. He feels drawn to the French language and culture more than English as he considers French culture closer to Brazilian culture. He feels there is more of a link between them as they are both Latin languages and cultures. In the table below I have used the term 'good' to describe a level of English that allows the individuals to communicate effectively within their working context.

3.3.8 Participants and languages

Table 2 Participants and languages

Name	Nationality	Home languages	Proficiency in English and French
Abelino	Brazilian	Portuguese	English – Good French – Beginner
Koroush	Iranian	Azerbaijani Turkish and Persian	English – Good French – Beginner
Alex	Ukrainian	Russian and Ukrainian,	English – Good French- Good
Manon	Brazilian	Portuguese	English – limited French – Beginner, but very motivated

Cong	Chinese	Mandarin Chinese and Xinyi	English – Good French – refused
Chao	Chinese	Mandarin Chinese	English – Good French – Beginner, but very motivated
Carlitos	Brazilian	Portuguese	English – Good French- Beginner

3.4 Layout of offices and laboratories

A typical office will have desks for four researchers. The layout can vary, but is often arranged with the four desks looking towards the wall as shown. This layout means that the doctoral researchers and supervisors often sit with their backs to each other, working on their own article or thesis with little contact with the others in the room. It may be that this layout has been developed specifically to allow the researcher a private space for their work, however it also limits communication.

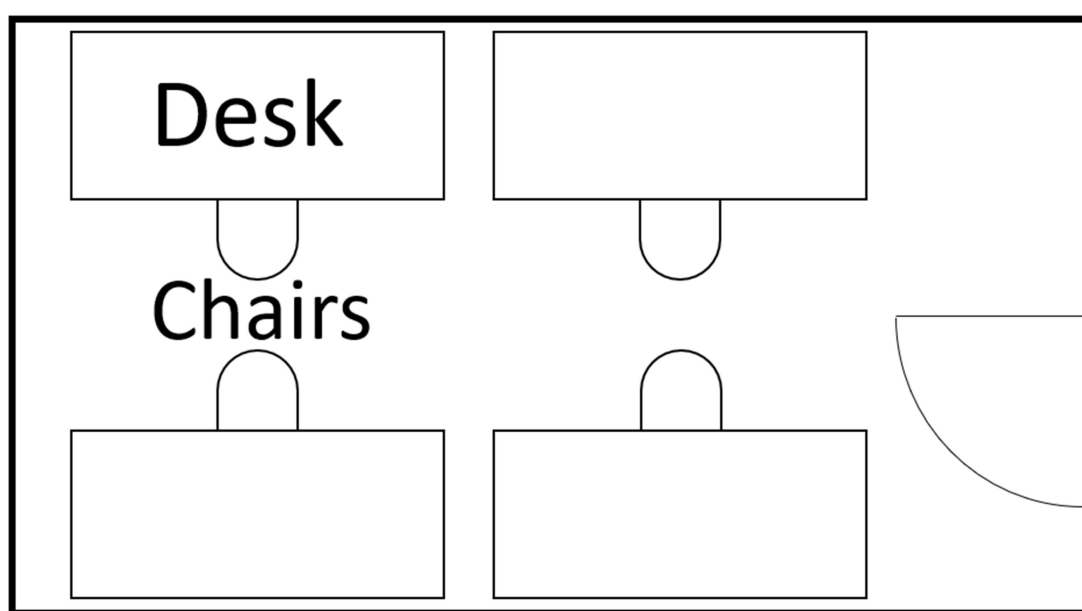


Figure 1 Office layout

Each laboratory is fairly small. Most are organised in a similar way to the offices for four people to work at their individual benches at any one time. However some are only half this size, with space for two researchers or technicians to work with both benches side by side against one wall of the laboratory.

3.5 Ethics

As the data collection for this research involved the use of human subjects approval by the University's Human Research Ethics Committee was required. To request this approval I had to consider certain issues surrounding my research. Consent presented two issues, the importance of informed consent and the clarity of the information on my research, especially in view of potential language barriers.

To address the potential barrier of language in this research, consent forms were written in English and the language of the participant SA doctoral researcher or supervisor. These are presented in appendix A (p.185). The texts were kindly translated by friends of mine to avoid any misunderstandings about the research itself. Time was taken with the researchers to discuss any questions they had. Consent was also sought from and given by the director of the institute with a translation into French. The information includes the fact that the research will be presented as part of a doctorate as well as confirming their anonymity and that of the establishment. I informed them of their right to withdraw from the research at any point should they wish to do so (Burgess et al, 2006). All the participants were over eighteen years of age and fully understood the research. Ethical approval was given on 28th July 2016 by The Open University Ethics Committee.

The ethical issue of maintaining anonymity and confidentiality for the participants also involved the anonymity of the research institute and the town due to the limited number of potential participants. Anonymity and confidentiality were discussed before the SA doctoral researchers and supervisors signed their consent forms (Duff, 2008), with the possibility to discuss any other concerns or general questions as necessary also presented. Prior to, or following recorded interviews, the SA doctoral researchers often spoke about other issues within the research group or institute. Any information provided in this way stayed completely confidential and I did not discuss these conversations with anyone else. This confidentiality was explained when the consent form was signed and the participant assured of my discretion on this subject. Only one participant appeared worried that information may be passed on as she knew that I was a close friend of her supervisor. We were able to discuss this together and the SA doctoral researcher accepted my guarantee that I would not discuss any information she gave me with her supervisor. Care was taken to ensure these ethical

considerations, maintaining the trust and respect that is vital to effective research and access for future researchers (Burgess et al., 2006).

3.6 Data collection, questionnaires, interviews, laboratory observations and e-mails

3.6.1 Improvements from pilot study

My pilot study helped me to improve my methods of data collection, reflecting on the project. Despite the aim of my research project changing during the first year the basic methods of data collection were still relevant. The first interview questions were modified, reflecting the different aim of the research, using the same general points for discussion as a starting point for SA doctoral researchers, developed from themes arising from the questionnaires. The second and third interviews were then based on their individual responses, adapted from interview techniques used by McClure (2007). The length of interviews was adapted to the SA doctoral researchers, as the pilot study had shown that longer interviews led to more difficulties in explaining ideas. The questionnaire to understand language use and previous language learning produced relevant information for my final project. Observations in the laboratories had been impossible to organise in the pilot study due to confidentiality for certain work. Being aware of this barrier and having a longer period of data collection for my main study, I was able to organise some observations, although these remained sparse. A method of data collection I had used for additional information in the pilot study was e-mails. In the main study these were used to explore advice they would offer to prospective SA doctoral researchers from their own country. I chose to use e-mails for this question to allow them time to consider the question as it reflects information they considered vital, but unavailable prior to commencing studies.

I also learnt to keep an open mind on what I found. I had two prior assumptions concerning the researchers. The first was language use. As the requirements for study in France include being able to communicate in written and spoken French, I had not expected a refusal to use French. The second, as someone who has studied abroad I felt I knew the study environment. However, my experience is now dated with social media, messaging and e-mails commonplace, changing the study abroad experience.

On a practical note, I improved the organisation of data collection. A barrier I experienced in the pilot study was flat batteries in my recorder. They had been

new for the first interview and the second was organised at very short notice as the researcher was returning to China the following day. With limited time I assumed they were still functioning, but could not record the interview when I arrived. Due to the fact the researcher was leaving the country we could not organise another meeting. However, this experience of being unable to record the second interview allowed me to appreciate the advantages of recording. Being able to re-listen and transcribe an interview allows reflection on the discussion and delivery. The notes that I took were not complete enough and in addition were my interpretation of Chen's views. Following this incident I took extra batteries and a second means of recording as back up.

3.6.2 Methods of data collection

Presented below is a table showing the methods used for data collection. Written, spoken and empirical data were gathered. The choice of research methods were adapted following my pilot study and constraints imposed by the availability of participants, due to specific working conditions at the institute.

Table 3 Data collection

Methods	Data	Data analysis
Questionnaire	Responses from questionnaire	<u>Qualitative analysis</u> Analysis of the reported participants, context and language choice as well as language learning experiences. <u>Quantitative analysis</u> Analysis of the reported languages used and courses undertaken.
Semi-structured interviews with the SA doctoral researchers.	Audio recordings of the interviews. Manual transcripts of the interviews.	Thematic analysis of the interview recordings and transcripts, using both to review the data. Colour coding was used for the transcripts to highlight recurrent and salient themes.
Semi-structured interviews with the supervisors.	Audio recordings of the interviews. Manual transcripts of the interviews.	Thematic analysis of the interview recordings and transcripts, using both to review the data. Colour coding was used for the transcripts to highlight recurrent and salient

		themes.
Observations.	Field notes from the observation of language use in laboratories.	Qualitative analysis Analysis of the participants, context and language choice

3.6.2.1 Questionnaires

A first contact was made with the SA doctoral researchers to explain and discuss the research before obtaining consent. The questionnaires were then e-mailed to each participant to give some background information on their past experience of learning and using different languages through ten questions (Appendix C p.228). Perceptions of academic English, the individual language learning histories of the SA doctoral researchers in educational settings and their language choices were also explored through this method of data collection. I was able to look at not only which languages they had studied, but also those spoken with family or friends and those they required with colleagues. These methods of inquiry helped me to start to understand the impact on their identity and how, as a result, their identity evolved during their stay. The completed questionnaires were e-mailed back to me and a date set to meet for the first interview.

3.6.2.2 Interviews

I undertook three semi-structured face to face interviews with each of the doctoral researchers. I conducted short interviews of about fifteen minutes each to reduce the fatigue barrier. This allowed the SA doctoral researchers the possibility to speak fully about their experiences with open-ended questions used to allow the participants to develop their own perception of the context being discussed. The same questions were asked for the first interviews for all of the SA doctoral researchers, using a semi-structured framework. Later interviews then explored the topics raised or any areas discussed previously that were unclear. In addition the interviews were recorded in a private area of the institute and organised at the request of the SA doctoral researcher. The non-threatening environment and the individual basis for the interviews allowed for any questions to be addressed without feelings of inferiority that may be experienced in a group setting. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed atmosphere as we already knew each other and the SA doctoral researchers appreciated the possibility of talking about their personal experiences. Where possible, the interviews were conducted over a three week period, however this was not always possible due to the timing of

certain experiments, or their own work for their research. I tried to limit the time between interviews, remaining very flexible regarding my availability. We met not just during the usual office hours, 9am – 5pm, but also the evenings and weekends. It is not unusual for staff to work unexpected hours due to experiments, although very few people were present. At times, my visits may have been viewed as a welcome distraction as breaks in the experiments could be an hour or two. The longest period over which the interviews took place was about two and a half months due to the pressure of work for the doctoral researcher Chao, although this was an exception.

The seven supervisors who participated in this research were also interviewed individually in a semi-structured interview on their perspective of the experiences spoken about by the SA doctoral researchers. The interviews explored the supervisors' view of the researchers' language use and their perception of these choices. However the questions for the supervisors, found in appendix F (p.234) were used as a guide as I only undertook one interview with each supervisor, with the exception of Matteo who spoke about his experience of working in France as a non-French-speaking supervisor. As a result I took a flexible approach to the interviews with the supervisors, adapting the interview to explore particular avenues as they arose. The supervisors were surprised and felt slightly awkward at first at the idea of the interview being recorded, resulting in most of the French supervisors choosing to speak French. I know from my experience of working at the institute that the supervisors often have a very negative view of their level of spoken English. However, once the interview started, they appeared to forget about the recording, for which I used a small recorder, about the size of a mobile phone that was placed on the table between us.

Despite only interviewing the supervisors once during my research, organising a time to meet was also very complex. Their timetables, already very full at the institute, change frequently with visits outside the institute to companies, other educational establishments and political structures as advisors. In spite of this hectic schedule, in addition to her interview one of the supervisors, Alice, also kindly allowed me to observe a study group she organised. Unfortunately as only French-speaking doctoral researchers were present it was not used in this research.

3.6.2.3 Laboratory observations

Observations in the laboratory were undertaken to try to observe the language use. This however was limited with only three sessions possible due to the protection of commercial secrets for clients, the need for sterile conditions or the absence of researchers in the laboratories at certain times. In the laboratories, I sat quietly on a stool in a corner. The speakers were identified by their home language with the language choices made between the individuals in the laboratory recorded onto prepared charts. The results from these observations are found in appendix D (p.230).

3.6.2.4 e-mails

An e-mail was sent to the participant SA doctoral researchers asking what advice they would offer to prospective SA doctoral researchers from their own country. This was done through e-mail to allow them to consider the question at more length than was possible during the interview. The results from these are presented in appendix E (p.232).

3.6.3 Questionnaires

The questionnaires consisted of ten questions looking at language use in the SA doctoral researchers' home country and previous language learning experience. The analysis of the data from the questionnaires was used to formulate the questions for the first interviews. They provided quantitative data on language use in the SA doctoral researchers' home country as well as previous language learning experience. The information was recorded on separate tables for each question to make the data collection and comparisons easier. The full questionnaire and tables presenting a summary of the responses are presented in appendix C (p.228).

As the questionnaires were used to prepare the interviews, I have presented the findings prior to the data collected from the interviews and the observations. The questionnaires were extremely useful, providing background information for the SA doctoral researchers language use in their own country and previous language learning experience, allowing me to consider each SA doctoral researcher's individual language history and present language use. I was also able to explore the diverse environments that confronted the SA doctoral researchers during their time of study abroad in France and the language use, which are presented in Figure 2 showing their language choices in the various contexts. The questionnaire was completed by the SA doctoral researchers at the beginning of

my data collection before the interviews, allowing the information to be used as a basis for the first interviews.

3.6.4 Responses to the questionnaire

1. What teaching for English have you received previously?

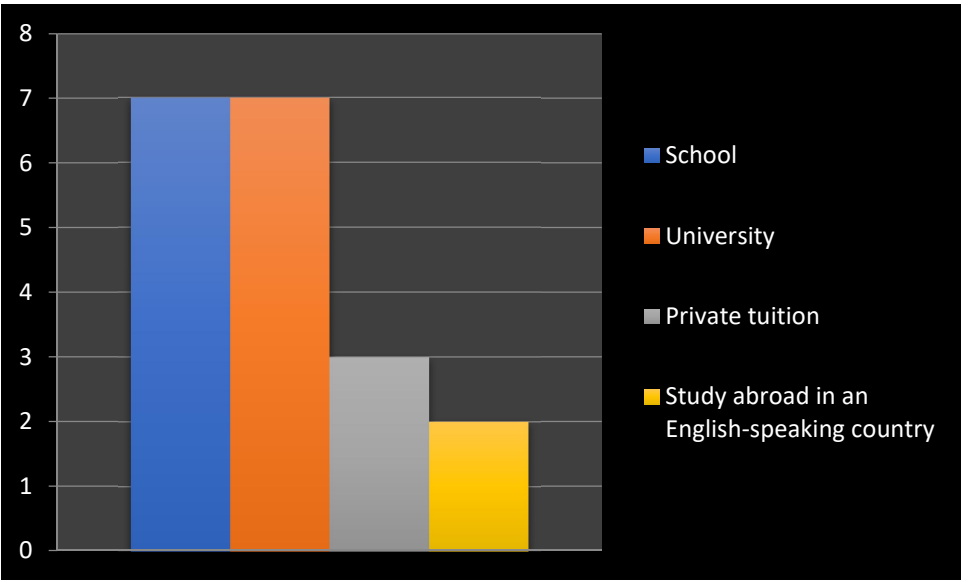


Figure 2 SA doctoral researchers previous English lessons

Table 4 SA doctoral researchers previous English lessons

Lessons	Number of doctoral researchers undertaking lessons
School	7
University	7
Private tuition	3
Study abroad in an English-speaking country	2

All the respondents had studied English, mainly at school and university. In addition to the classes organised through their educational systems, some undertook other activities to improve their English. Abelino mentioned ‘particular class’ in his answer. In Portuguese ‘aulas particulares’, describes classes on an individual basis with the teacher. When we discussed this comment, he confirmed that the lessons were private, individual tuition. He also added that he had studied English at school and university in addition to the information he gave in the questionnaire.

Chao expressed disappointment about the lack of English lessons during his doctoral studies, although he received support from his tutor at the university. He gave this as the main reason he contacted me to participate in my study and we were able to work together on aspects of his written English as well as his viva during our meetings. The thirty six hours in one week mentioned in his questionnaire as being offered to him are part of the doctoral requirements in France. Each doctoral researcher, over their three years of doctoral studies, has to undertake approximately a hundred and sixty hours of study in academic areas other than their main subject to validate their doctorate. This is not necessarily English, although English is a popular choice as it is viewed as useful by doctoral researchers generally.

Koroush and Abelino had also previously undertaken some study abroad in an English-speaking country, the United States for Abelino for one academic year, and a six month stay in Ireland for Koroush.

2. Where did they receive the teaching? France or another country?

Table 5 Country of English studies

Country where the lessons took place	Number of doctoral researchers
Home country	7
France	1

All the SA doctoral researchers studied English in their own country, and with the exception of Chao, did not study English in France. Interestingly, Chao mentioned optional training in France. He explained, during our discussion, that this was the course that was offered for a week’s intensive English study mention above, which

he was unable to attend as he could not spare an entire week from his doctoral work.

3. Were the lessons in groups or individual?

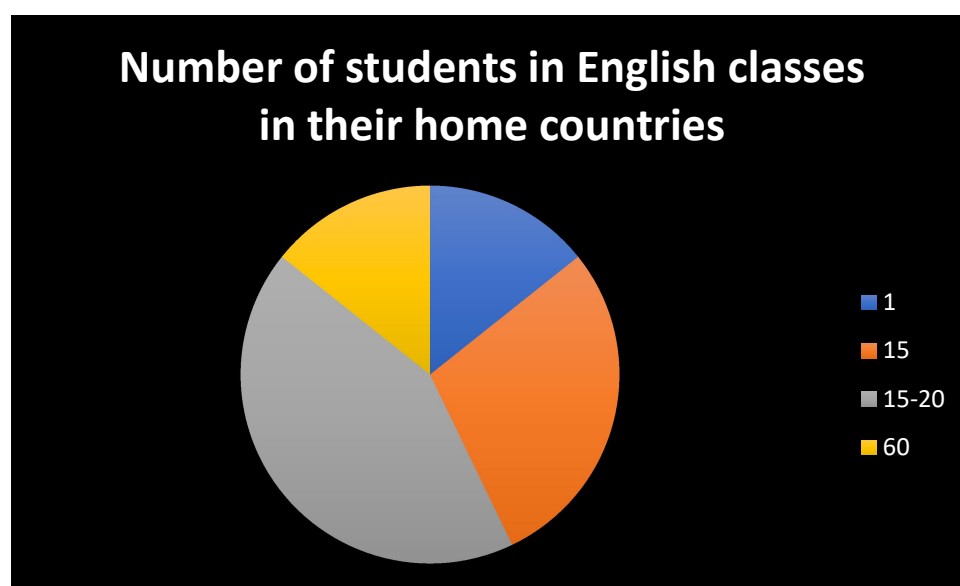


Figure 3 Home countries. Number of students in classes

These answers show the huge differences that exist in access to language learning for SA doctoral researchers prior to arriving in France, varying from individual lessons to classes of sixty students. Opportunities to speak English in the classroom, were therefore extremely varied, something confirmed by Cong, who commented in interview that he was never be able to speak more than once in a lesson as there were sixty students in his class at school. He also complained that it was difficult to improve his accent as his teachers were from the same region of China, and so had the same pronunciation problem of being unable to

hear and therefore repeat certain sounds in English. He explained that outside big towns in China this is a common problem as they are unlikely to have teachers from abroad or even elsewhere in China.

4. What aspects of academic writing were covered?

Table 6 Academic writing

Academic writing studied	Number of SA doctoral researchers
Yes	1
No	6

With the exception of Koroush, the use of academic English was not addressed during the English studies undertaken in their home countries. In interview however, Carlitos said he felt his level in English allowed him to read scientific articles more easily than many of the students with whom he had studied, although he did not mention writing competences.

5. Do you consider there to be any differences between presenting information between your own language(s), French and English academic writing?

Table 7 Ideas on presenting information

Different presentation of information	Number of SA doctoral researchers
Yes	5
No	2

Apart from Manon and Chao, the SA doctoral researchers felt that there were differences between presenting information in different languages, although in interview later Chao spoke about the differences between English and Chinese.

6. Do you use English other than for academic uses?

Table 8 Activities using English

Activity	Number of SA doctoral researchers who reported this activity
Travel	2
On-line games	1
Communication in town	1
Communication in general	1

Friends	1
Searching for information	1

As could be expected, English was a useful competence for all of the SA doctoral researchers outside their studies. The uses included travelling, general communication, searching for information on general subjects and even online games. Alex reported using English with friends and interestingly during his interview also reported using French with friends.

7. Which languages do you speak with colleagues on your project?

Table 9 Professional language choice with colleagues

Languages	Number of SA doctoral researchers
Exclusively English	2
Exclusively French	2
Mixed – English, French or home languages	3

Five of the SA doctoral researchers used English, either exclusively as was the case for Cong and Chao, or mixed with French as well as Portuguese for Carlitos. Alex, the Ukrainian doctoral researcher, was the only SA doctoral researcher to use only French.

The responses to question 8 are presented in table 10 below, showing the level of contact the SA doctoral researchers had in each language in this section for clarity. There are a few discrepancies between the answers given for language use between questions 7 and 8.

8. Could you show on this diagram the languages used between you and your colleagues?

Fill in the diagram below showing the languages you use with colleagues. Please use,

1. the inner band for those you have the most contact with,
2. the middle for those you have slightly less contact with,
3. the outer band for more occasional contacts

8. Language choice

Table 10 Language use

Abelino Brazilian	1. French 2. English 3. Portuguese
Koroush Iranian	1. English 2. French 3.-
Manon Brazilian	1. French 2. Portuguese 3. English
Alex Ukrainian	1. French 2. - 3. -
Carlitos Brazilian	1. Portuguese, French 2. French, English 3. French, English
Chao Chinese	1. English 2. French 3. Mandarin Chinese
Cong Chinese	1. English 2. - 3. -

9. Do you speak any other languages?

Table 11 Other languages spoken

Name of SA doctoral researcher	Number of languages spoken
Abelino – Brazilian	4 ‘a little Spanish’
Koroush – Iranian	3 (2 home languages)
Manon – Brazilian	4
Alex – Ukrainian	4 (2 home languages)
Carlitos – Brazilian	3
Chao – Chinese	3
Cong – Chinese	4 (2 home languages)

A very interesting discovery from these questionnaires was the number of languages the SA doctoral researchers spoke. Three of them had used more than one language for their day to day lives since they were very young, negotiating the use and hierarchy between various languages in specific contexts. None of the SA doctoral researchers could communicate in less than three languages, with four reporting being able to communicate in four languages.

I now present the data from the semi-structured interviews. A full interview is presented in appendix B (p.188) with the transcription conventions and the colour coding used. The colour coded and non-colour coded transcription of the interview are also included to make reading easier for analysis.

3.7 Data analysis process

3.7.1 *Thematic analysis*

The thematic analysis used in this study identified and analysed themes in the data collected based primarily around guidelines put forward by Braun and Clarke (2006), with concepts from the work of other researchers discussed below.

My research builds, in part, on the research undertaken by Coleman (2013) which looks at the contexts that confront Erasmus SA students. My thematic analysis can be considered as deductive using directed content analysis by extending Coleman's work to the SA doctoral researchers (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Certain themes employed in deductive methods may be partially determined, assisting to guide and direct choices prior to full coding although not necessarily using identical coding systems. This was the case for the choice of languages in this study, although I also drew on the evidence available for other coding choices (Saldana, 2011) using methods adapted from Iterative categorisation (IC) (Neale, 2016). The themes regroup data in relation to the research questions (RQs) in the study.

The stages undertaken to identify themes from my data is described in detail below.

3.7.1.1 *Stages of analysis*

Data from the interviews with Abelino are used here to illustrate the stages of thematic analysis used for all the participants. Despite being listed in a specific

order, during analysis I moved back and forth through the stages as necessary to improve my understanding of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.7.1.2 Phase 1 Compiling

Compiling was undertaken firstly through transcription of the interviews, data being easier to work with in written form rather than the oral form in which it was collected (Castleberry and Nolen, 2018). As shown with Abelino's interviews, these transcriptions were verbatim, employing the transcription conventions based on Gumperz and Berenz (1993) guidance for transcriptions, presented in appendix B (p.188). I present here an example of the transcription with these conventions. The fact of overlapping speech with the other speaker was interestingly more common with the Brazilian doctoral researchers and French-speakers than Chinese-speakers with whom there were often longer gaps.

Int : Do you think that helps you being here to be able - to contact people in Brazil easily [or is it a hindrance]?

Abelino : [Yes, is important], I think is important, yeah. We feel lost in the communication with the people, er that close to us, it's really difficult, keeping the life in a completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah.

Once recorded and downloaded onto my computer, transcribing the audio recorded interviews from the SA doctoral researchers and supervisors was done manually which allowed me to listen carefully to all the data. I re-read the texts several times to allow me to familiarise myself with the content and to notice significant details (Neale, 2016; Saldana, 2011; Braun and Clarke, 2006). During transcription, forgotten or seemingly less important comments became more obvious, allowing me to identify patterns. Certain themes were recurrent, for example, the use of English, whereas others were highly personal and perhaps difficult for the SA doctoral researcher to speak about. These were often only mentioned once, but were highly relevant, for example feelings of isolation. Pre-coding analysis (Neale, 2016; Dörnyei, 2007) was very helpful, especially for the more personal comments that would not be apparent looking at recurrent themes. In addition, there was often a lack of necessary vocabulary to express their feelings, as this type of communication was an unusual activity for them. Therefore understanding their communication involved some interpretation, which was assisted by listening carefully to the recording. Any interpretation on my part was

then discussed with the speaker to ensure my understanding of the comment was correct.

From this I drew up themes that I then explored. This was a complex process as the data was not only very rich, but a good proportion was from semi-structured interviews, following the experiences of the SA doctoral researchers themselves.

The format used for all the interviews was identical.

3.7.1.3 Phase 2 Disassembling through initial coding

Once compiling was completed it was disassembled through coding and organised into categories to start the process of creating useable data. This stage, the initial coding, highlights features of interest (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Colour coding was used to group similar ideas together, as shown below with Abelino

Int : Do you think that helps you being here to be able - to contact people in Brazil easily [or is it a hindrance]?

Abelino : [Yes, is important], I think is important, yeah. We feel lost in the communication with the people, er that close to us, it's really difficult, keeping the life in a completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah.

The codings used above are to indicate the following categories:

- The pink highlighted comments relating to the importance of home languages, the use of home languages, family and friends and maintaining home languages
- The blue highlighted comments showing social integration, social isolation and migrant identity

Organising the data collected into content categories through effective coding was a vital step towards successful content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) and an essential first step (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Each code had a separate Microsoft Word document, a method adapted from IC (Neale, 2016) which I found easier to work with than the Nvivo. In total, 26 primary codes were identified through this method. The data was organised by participant, with all their relevant comments grouped together. I re-read the findings as many times as was necessary for each code, organising the links between certain codes in the data through mindmaps.

For this phase I had started using Nvivo and uploaded the data on to Nvivo 11. I reused the codings I had developed from the manual coding. The system was useful to store the analysed data, but I personally found it useful to code on paper. Although Nvivo may be able to assist in coding and analysing such data (Castleberry and Nolen, 2018), I was unsure of all the potential uses of the tool despite watching many videos on the subject. As Castleberry and Nolen (2018) commented, although software can assist in organising the data, the creation of themes and analysis of the data is a result of the intellectual process undertaken by the researcher (Castleberry and Nolen, 2018; Neale, 2016). A further barrier for me was the fact of working only with speakers of other languages which also meant that the vocabulary employed was at times unexpected. An illustration of this is ‘alonely’ [sic], which in context was very meaningful, but was only used once.

In addition, certain Nvivo applications were not adapted to my study, for example comparing coding from different researchers. As I was working alone for the coding, themes and analysis this was not useful for my study. Having tried to use Nvivo I personally felt more confident using more traditional documents to organise my thoughts than on a screen and therefore decided against using it.

3.7.1.4 Phase 3 Reassembling into themes

In the original coding there were 26 primary codes, as described above. Through the mindmapping, these were regrouped into ten themes with ten colours used to code the data. This data is presented in appendix B (p.188). The themes created also linked the data to the RQs from the coding (Braun and Clarke, 2006). These themes were then used to construct an understanding of the collected data, and reassembled in relation to its importance to the relevant RQs (Castleberry and Nolen, 2018; Braun and Clarke, 2006). The themes were created from the coding over a period of several weeks, and as a result I returned to the data on many occasions during this time to reassess my conclusions.

Here I present an example from Abelino and Alex’s interviews of the theme ‘home languages’.

Coding	Reason for coding choice	Example from the text
Importance of home	Showed feelings of	Abelino: I think I always

languages	ownership towards their home languages	will prefer Portuguese because it's my native language.)
The use of home languages	Home languages used to relax	Alex : I'm using Internet mostly in Russian, so for entertainment
Family and friends	Social media contact mainly with home countries	Abelino: [Yes, is important], I think is important, yeah. We feel lost in the communication with the people, er that close to us Abelino: is more to, to keep the conversation with my friends from Brazil,
Maintaining languages	Importance of a good level in home languages	Abelino : [Ye:s, but I] think Portuguese for me is a really difficult language. Even the Brazilians sometimes have a strong wrong thing in Portuguese with the gramar

Other comments from Abelino coded as being part of the same theme are to be found in the full interview in appendix B (p.188).

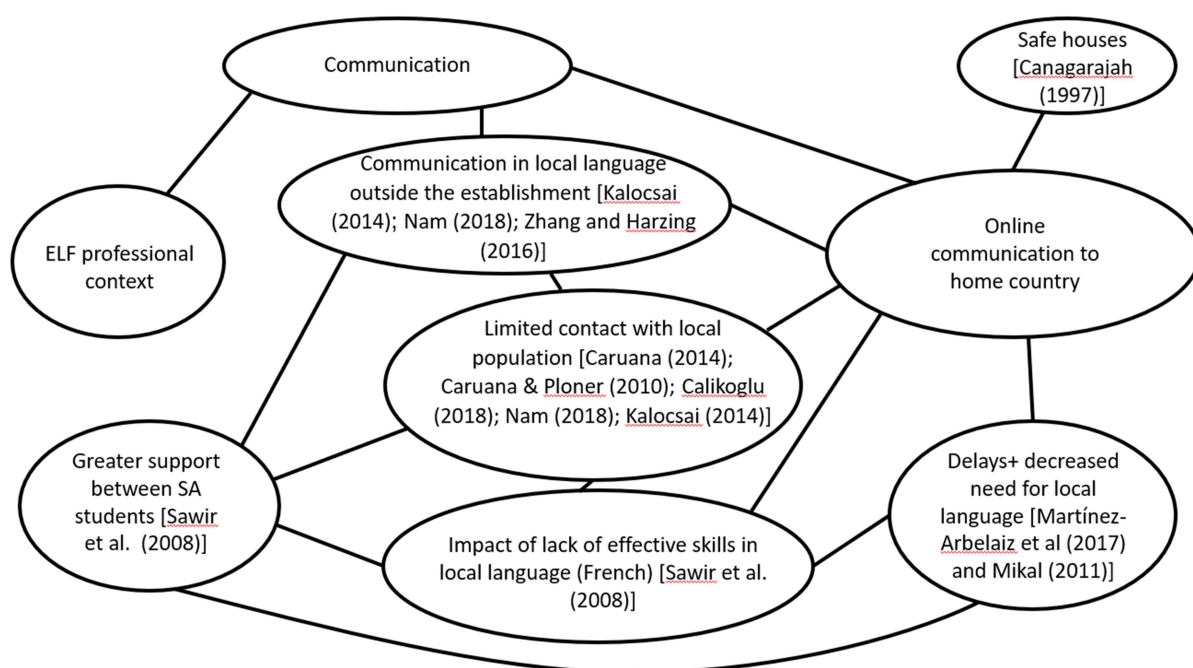
3.7.1.5 Phase 4 Reviewing themes

Once organised into themes, reviewing the data was continued. This process was in progress throughout the previous stages, as I transcribed, coded and then organised the data into themes. To ensure the themes created were appropriate, further re-reading and evaluation of the data at this stage was undertaken (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The mindmaps created earlier in the analysis were again useful at this stage, assisting in visually linking data and the literature presented in chapter 2. Abelino's comments on the possibility of keeping in contact with others in Brazil through social media can be understood through the mindmap below which illustrates this process. The mindmap allows the position of Abelino's comment to be seen as in relation to safe houses as well as the risk of delays and a decreased need for French. In addition, the risk of using more online communication as a result of the use of French by others outside the establishment can be seen clearly from this mapping. As can be seen here, the comments are interpreted in relation to the theories discussed in the literature review (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Int : Do you think that helps you being here to be able .. to contact people in Brazil easily [or is it a hindrance]?

Abelino : [Yes, is important], I think is important, yeah. We feel lost in the communication with the people, er that close to us, it's really difficult, keeping the life in a completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah.



The themes that were relevant to this comment included the use of French, the use of home languages, language equality and inequality, social integration and feelings towards multilingual needs. Through the mind map it is also possible to see the relationship between language choice, the potential for language negotiation as well as the impact on identity in Abelino's comment. An example, of this is the relationship that can be seen in the mindmap between Abelino

comments that despite the use of some French at work, he has limited contact with the local population and the use of social media (Due et al., 2015; Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014; Mikal, 2011).

Abelino: I can, - erm try to speak French with the others here but outside, umm, I not have French friends that they are from French (interview 3)

3.7.1.6 Phase 5 Naming the themes

This phase involved naming the themes. As can be seen above in phase 3, many codes were brought together to create a theme. The name chosen for each theme reflected the concept that grouped the codes together, whilst retaining the original codings as sub-themes.

3.7.1.7 Phase 6 Producing the report and interpretation

The themes were then used to analyse the data effectively and construct a report to present the study in an efficient and logical manner. In addition, the interpretation was possible through the in-depth knowledge of the data that had been built up over the previous stages (Castleberry and Nolen 2018; Braun and Clarke, 2006). The analysis required extracts from the data to support the report, and this method allowed extracts from the data to be identified and used effectively. Through the mindmap, as presented in phase 3, I was able to link the data to my analysis, the literature review and my research questions.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter I have considered the methodological approach taken for this research. The research design and research procedure have both been described in detail, as have the barriers I encountered and changes I made through reflective practice. Through the qualitative approach I employed I have investigated an under researched area of education through the lived experiences of the SA doctoral researchers. I have maintained the ethical considerations included in this chapter towards the participants and the institute. I now present the findings from the data collected and analysed as described in this chapter.

Chapter 4 **Language choice and negotiation in multilingual contexts**

In this chapter I present the responses and analysis of the key research findings from the study in relation to the research questions 1 and 2, collected through semi-structured interviews, e-mails, self-reporting questionnaires and laboratory observations. The number shown in brackets following interview data indicates the interview from which it was taken. The research questions are the basis for the presentation of the findings, relating firstly to language choice, secondly to language negotiation. The resulting issues relating to identities are considered in the following chapter. Findings, reflecting the various contexts encountered by the SA doctoral researchers, are presented for each research question.

I also present my analysis of this data and in addition, consider how these findings have shed light on the research questions as well as offering a comparison of the findings with relevant research presented in the literature review. The frameworks employed proved to be appropriate to study the SA doctoral researchers' language choices and their experience of undertaking their PhD in France.

I now present my findings in relation to research questions 1 and 2.

4.1 Research question 1

What influences the choice of language for the researchers in a multilingual context?

4.1.1 Contexts for language choices

The language choices were linked to the context in which the SA doctoral researcher and other individuals were interacting.

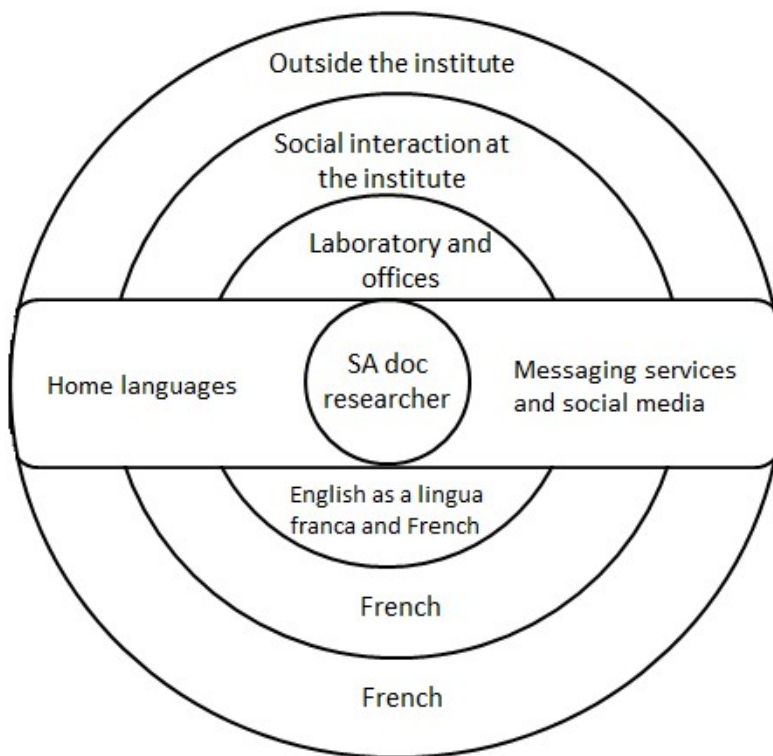


Figure 4 Doctoral researcher contexts

This research discovered three distinct contexts the participants experienced whilst studying and working in France. The diagram above represents these different contexts in conjunction with the languages mainly used.

1. The inner circle represents the professional context, usually in the laboratories, offices or working with collaborators. This is an international context, with English used as a lingua franca for all the participants, except Alex at the institute, although he also uses English as a lingua franca for international collaboration. The SA doctoral researchers, Manon, Abelino, Carlitos, Koroush and Chao used English as the main language of communication, mixed with some French, and Cong used only English as a lingua franca. As scientists, ownership of English as a lingua franca was shared, and from a linguistic point of view, created greater equality in this context.
2. The middle circle represents the social context within the institute. The choice of language was made by the individuals concerned rather than imposed by professional expectations. The language used in this context was reported as being French by all the SA doctoral researchers. This choice brought with it the possibility of issues of power and inequality as

well as a move towards migrant identities for the SA doctoral researchers. English however remained an option to communicate if necessary.

3. Finally, the outer circle represents the contexts the SA doctoral researchers encountered outside the institute. The possibility of using English in these contexts was greatly reduced, as the other interlocutors may have been unable or unwilling to communicate using English effectively. This led to greater barriers to access and participation as a speech community, with potentially SA doctoral researchers encountering linguistic and other barriers familiar to many migrant workers, discussed in Block (2007). The exception to the use of French outside the institute was for explanations of grammar and translations of vocabulary as well as instructions during French lessons at the university for which English was used.

I chose to use the diagram of a circle to illustrate moving out from the closed, more predictable and purely professional context of the working environment of the laboratories and offices toward the less predictable environments they experienced outside. Moving away from the centre where the SA doctoral researchers themselves are positioned, their participation in the choice of language was reduced. This may be a result of the issues of power they encountered with other interlocutors as the choice of language was more open to negotiation in this context, or simply the inability of speakers to communicate successfully in English. In this second circle, Cong, who decided against learning French, interpreted the lack of English used by his French colleagues as a choice.

Cong: Err, no actually I think French da, don't like speak English (1)

The potential choice of English also relied on the other speaker having the necessary level in English to accomplish this at the institute or outside. Abelino commented that not all the French-speaking doctoral researchers had the necessary level in English to chat socially.

Abelino: Yes, some students don't speak English very well and sometimes it's really difficult to talk with them (1)

In the third circle there may still have been some negotiation of the choice of language although this may have been limited from a purely practical point of view with a possible lack of competences in English for the other speaker.

Carlitos: No outside of (name of the institute) it's impossible, it has to be French! (1)

A fourth, virtual community also existed, employing messaging services and social media whilst the SA doctoral researcher was abroad. It was a community that existed prior to their study abroad and encompassed family, friends from their home country as well as existing networks with communication becoming online during their stay. It stretched across the circles as participation in these communities could take place during the time spent in another community which could be very supportive for the SA doctoral researchers. Abelino described the importance of this link with family and friends in Brazil.

Abelino: [Yes, is important], I think is important, yeah. We feel lost in the communication with the people, er that close to us, it's really difficult, keeping the life in a completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah. (1)

The frequency of this contact was extremely variable with Manon reporting contacting Brazil several times a day.

Manon: OK, I use, I use the Portuguese when I speak with my mother and my father and my fiancé all day basically two, twice for a day. Twice? Per day (1)

Whereas Chao, who reported maintaining family ties as being very important to him, used this community much less.

Chao: Yeah. Especially in China, we prefer to keep the relationship between family members.

Chao: I make a phone call, or video meeting with my parents, once or twice per month. (1)

4.1.1.1 Coleman's model

As discussed above, using these findings I created a model adapted from the Coleman's model (2013) shown below with kind permission (Appendix L p.262) representing the social networks study abroad Erasmus students encounter.

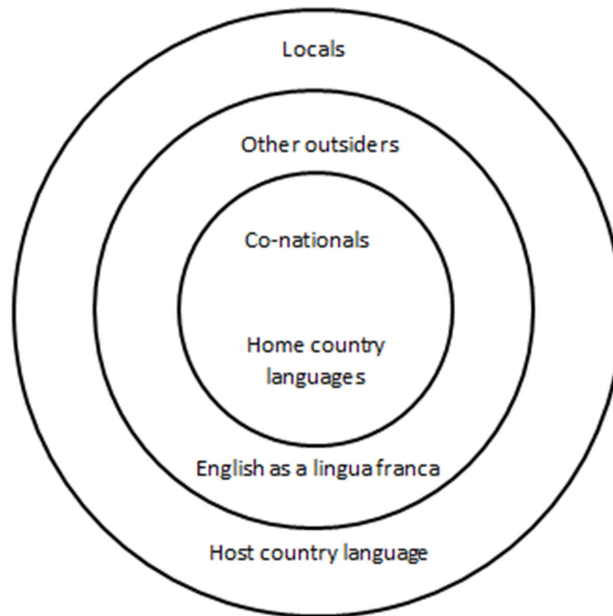


Figure 5 Social networks of study abroad students, Coleman (2013)erre

Coleman (2013) created his model (Figure 5) for SA Erasmus student which I have adapted to the findings for the SA doctoral researchers in this study. Coleman placed the various communities in his model to reflect the closeness of the relationships with SA students, moving out from the closest to the most distant, rather than time spent with individuals from this group. In my model (Figure 4), the circles represent the contact SA doctoral researchers encounter in each context, moving from the close professional bond they have with colleagues to less contact and distant relationships with the local population. The doctoral researcher is placed in the centre of my model as I wished to show their central position in the contexts considered in the research. The differences between the two models are as follows:

- The inner circle, other speakers of their home language or languages in Coleman's model, is replaced in mine by the professional context where the SA doctoral researchers are free to use ELF or French as they wish, making communication and contact between the individuals easier. Co-nationals and the support they may offer are absent for the doctoral researchers.
- The second is the context described by Coleman (2013) of other international contacts, with whom they would be able to use ELF. This is replaced in my model by social interaction at the institute with mainly French-speaking colleagues, a context that requires French. The use of French in this context was more confusing for certain SA doctoral

researchers as the individuals present were those with whom they had been using ELF in the professional context.

- Finally the outer circle, with the local population, speakers of the host country language is the same in both models.

I now present my findings in relation to these contexts.

4.1.2 Professional language choice at the institute

The choice of language professionally to discuss the work they were undertaking at the institute and their results could be French, ELF or more rarely a home language. However, with the exceptions of Alex and Manon, the SA doctoral researchers reported using at least some English.

Chao: it depends which language I can handle. I do the, I try to describe something, for example if I want, if I want to talk about scientific mechanism, talk about my work, I prefer to use English because sometimes, well generally you need to explain things logically during, - for the work. So I prefer use English. (1)

Manon however made the choice with her supervisor to use French in the laboratory setting when she first arrived in France. Supervisors reported agreeing language choice with the SA doctoral researcher on arrival, which I discuss in more detail in the section on the initiation to French for the SA doctoral researchers, section 4.3.3

Manon: Erm, OK. I think because when I arrive here, Diana tell me you prefer, tell me you prefer that err you, I speak with you in English or French, so I think it's better in French, because I live in French, now. (2)

While English was not always the language choice within the laboratory setting, from the experiences described by the SA doctoral researchers it was acceptable for all the members of the research groups.

Cong: They have to, they have to speak English with you because that's work. Er, yeah for work for the experiment it's OK, it's OK, it's OK. (1)

This was supported by the observations I was able to undertake in the laboratories with English often used for a first approach if the language of the person was unknown. However, a situation described by the supervisor Claudine and discussed below, showed that deciding the language choice in the working environment can become a power struggle and is a complex issue. The decision can be imposed by other members of the research group and possibly even influenced by the present legislation in place in France on language choice,

insisting on the use of French for the workplace, presented in the literature review (France, La loi Toubon. Gouvernement français, France 1994). Within a power struggle, legislation concerning language choice can obviously be decisive. The choice of English, however was perceived by the SA doctoral researchers as opening up more possibilities than French for their careers, and therefore frequently the language of choice professionally. In addition, using Internet to explore their discipline and reading articles both required the use English.

Manon: but if I research in site, in Internet, only English, they expect, the articles?

Int: Articles yes.

Manon: Articles, papers, all English, (1)

Koroush viewed English as improving both educational and career prospects. When asked if he resented the obligation of using English for his work he replied:

Koroush: No, no not at all no. And if you can speak English, fluently I mean, it's very good for you to find a job you know, it's very, extra point, extra point for you, OK. You are fluent in English at least you can understand and write and read, this is very good. (2)

Effective communication in English for research was perceived by Koroush as a positive attribute for international researchers. The use of English was an integral part of their identities as international researchers, confirming their social capital as a scientific researcher globally. Professionally, therefore English was unavoidable, and the SA doctoral researchers all described English as being most important in their careers. In contrast to English, French is of limited use when SA doctoral researchers return to their home country, or move to another for work.

Cong: er actually, if I have enough time, maybe I will, I will learn in French just like if I will stay here for five years or more, then maybe I will learn in French, but now I just have three years to finish my PhD and you know we always have a lot of experiments and a lot of work to do so, I don't have enough time to learn the French. And besides when I'm back to China err it's not, err it's not a part of science. It's not big or large possibility, high possibility to speak French, so compared to learn French I prefer speaking English better. (1)

The limited possibilities available for SA doctoral researchers to stay and work after their PhD were a further disincentive to develop language competences in French. Many required visas to study in France, which were issued for doctoral research only. As a result, they had limited expectations of staying and working in France making Abelino's reaction understandable.

Abelino: Well, I didn't think about it, but I don't know if I will keep study French after my work here because, er as I told you before, the language that I use to make my work is English. I need it to write in English, I need to think in English, I need to do everything in English, so what I think about is studying more in English because I need to improve my English (3)

4.1.3 English outside the professional context

English was also reported as being used outside the institute, although rarely. Manon, who by choice tried to speak French whenever possible, reported making the choice to use English with a Chinese student of French who had a strong accent when speaking French that Manon found difficult to understand.

Manon: Yeah. Basically questions, really basic, - so for me it's more easier, to understand with him - talk. Talk about with me, speak with me in English, because it's really accent strong for, strong accent in French. (3)

She also put forward another reason for French not being used in a certain contexts,

Manon: Yeah, it's, it's other, two, one speak French, other no, not. Only English, so when to go with the other people in group, basically you all time only English, because he don't speak French, (1)

Although this reaction may be more common in professional contexts, it was also the case during French as a foreign language classes at the university.

Manon: I use for example, I use English in my class, French especially in the semester, erm, last semester because I did level A1 (2)

Both Abelino and Manon reported using English themselves in classes as well as the general use of English in the classroom.

Int: So if you're doing work in a group, you'll be actually speaking English in a French class.

Manon: Yeah. (2)

Abelino: It's good because the professor when she needed explain us something0 she use English. Because if everything was just in French, I could to understand everything, of the course. (1)

Outside the professional context however, the language choice was usually French, imposed by other speakers.

4.1.4 French

Whilst the use of French in a purely professional context could be avoided, many of the SA doctoral researchers enjoyed using it when possible. The use of French by the SA doctoral researchers was also appreciated by the French-speakers at the institute.

Carlitos: It depends on the person, but mainly I try to use French first. (1)

Manon also preferred to use French whenever possible, even with her supervisor who considered her home language to be Russian.

Manon: When Diana speak with me in French, I speak in French, (1)

Despite this she also reported ‘*the, comfort*’ of speaking Portuguese with five other Brazilians.

Manon: So five persons, really bad for my language, because you, you, out – the, comfort; (3)

Cong was the only SA doctoral researcher who spoke no French at all, having made the choice from the beginning of his PhD studies in France.

Cong: Just like I can’t speak French, they, they speak French, I don’t understand so, they have to speak English to me so. (1)

However, for social interactions during breaks at the institute, French was generally used by the SA doctoral researchers’ colleagues.

Cong: Yes, yes, also just like you know we can coffee, coffee break, coffee time when you go to coffee room and you just for breaking, you may drink a cup of coffee or you just some kind of snack or something. They ju, they just speak French. (1)

Chao: and during the dinner, maybe I will speak French with my friends. (1)

This could also be the case with social interaction outside the institute, even with some of the other doctoral researchers who may have worked in the laboratory or offices with them in English.

Abelino: Some French, some French they speak English, but the majority, I think – the, the real group, they don’t like to speak English. That is the feeling that I have you know. (2)

Speaking any other language than French in non-professional contexts was unusual.

Carlitos: I think it's mainly French. I can't remember when I could choose outside.

(1)

The use of French within the speech communities was not necessarily a barrier for the SA doctoral researchers. Certain SA doctoral researchers employed this possibility of language choice to their advantage, showing sensitivity and respect for the other individual and their culture.

4.1.5 Respect and sociocultural variations

Through the questionnaires I discovered that four of the SA doctoral researchers required more than one language in their home countries, making language choice familiar and necessary in both written and spoken communication contexts for them. These languages can create their own social barriers in the home countries where they are used, as well as social advantages that may be obtained or denied depending on the speakers' proficiency in the dominant language. The researchers with this background are Chao, Cong, Koroush and Alex. Chao who is Chinese and Alex who is Ukrainian put forward an unexpected influence for language choice, respect for the other speaker. For Chao it was important to show respect, especially in written communication. Having spent a certain amount of time in France he felt it was extremely important that he should use the language of the country at least for e-mails. He grew up in a multilingual context, although he himself only speaks Mandarin Chinese. His parents come from different areas of China and so speak different Chinese languages, with a third Chinese language spoken in the area where they lived. As a result he has always used Mandarin to communicate both with family and friends, but the importance of using French whilst he was in France was very clear for him.

Chao: e-mails? Err, well, personally, I think in France, you stay here more than one or two years, maybe it's polite for one person to write in French when you send e-mail to a French person, just personally thinking. So when I try to send some e-mail to my supervisor, if we want to book, yeah, book, book a meeting room, if we want to make a schedule, we want to talk about some small things, make some, yes just talk about some small things, I prefer to use French to show respect to others. Because I can search on the Internet to make sure whether it's OK or not, whether the sentence I am writing is OK or not. It's just to show respect. So, .. in my heart, deep in my heart I want to speak French in France, it's for sure. I am not so good enough, erm (1)

His willingness to adapt to the other speaker was shown by the comment,

Chao: It depends. It depends whether they prefer to speak French or English because some, for example some Italians, they could speak French very well, so speak English for them is a hard job. (1)

Alex also spoke about respect being used for the choice of language in his own country where two languages are used, Ukrainian and Russian. Alex was able to use both languages to communicate equally well.

Alex: Erm, I don't know for us in Ukraine, traditionally the choice is for older person, for – yeah - (1)

However, Alex was a good communicator in at least four languages, Russian, Ukrainian, French and English which allowed him to adapt to a wide choice of language. He described how he makes his choice of language to communicate with others.

Alex: I do natural choice. (2)

Alex's remarks show that the choice of language is, at times, not a conscious choice on the part of the speakers. Using a language from habit with the other speakers or adapting automatically to the best language choice available also has a role to play.

Alex: so let's start to talk in English and I'm trying to say 'hello, and how are you doing' and so unnatural and funny that I can't, I can't go on. It's so strange! (laughs).

Int: But that's to speak to her

Alex: To speak to her, but it's just an illustration for me that choice is natural. If I'm able, I'm doing a natural choice. (2)

Forcing a choice in this context may restrict communication as Alex described when attempting to communicate in English with his French-speaking girlfriend. This was similar to Chao's language choice to make the other speaker feel more at ease and be able to communicate better. Both consider not just their own needs and competences, but those of the other interlocutor.

Koroush also reported the notion of respect being linked to the choice of language. His experience however, was that of barriers if he chose to speak his home minority language in his home country of Iran. He described the barriers for Azerbaijani Turkish-speakers throughout their education in Iran.

Koroush: Of course it's difficult to remember because I was six years old (laughs). But it's very common I can say. You know when you are born in a native Turkish family you grow up, up to six or seven years old with only your Mother tongue, only Turkish and then you start school with Persian and everything changes. You learn, OK there are different names for water for bread for everything and so it's a bit er, challenging in the beginning for Turkish-speaking people in Iran. But er, the most important thing is when you want to continue your studies towards getting university grade and if you need to change your city from a Turkish dominated region to a Persian dominated city so your accent can be a problem for you. (2)

The language of education being Persian, the use of Azerbaijani Turkish, or even the accent can lead to discrimination and as a result, a lack of respect for the individual.

Koroush: if you want to develop, if you want to progress it's better to calm your accent (laughs). (2)

The notion of home country languages therefore can be a more complex mix than it appears at first, possibly affecting the perception of the use of English in science. In contrast to an accent in his home country, Koroush viewed English as being positive for him in his career.

4.1.6 English and home languages in science

The notion of English being the most effective language for communication in science was another aspect considered in language choice. The supervisor Diana made an important point when she reported that for her as a Russian-speaker it can be easier to use English rather than French for discussions about her work.

Diana: for scientific work it's easier to use English because you are based on article which you were reading in English so you have already construction in your head. So sometimes it's easier to explain. (supervisor)

This may become the case for the SA doctoral researchers later in their career, but at the time of the study some appeared to be still in the process of assimilating some vocabulary and structures used for their discipline in English. During an interview Abelino reported finding his own language easier to use to express certain professional concepts. However, studying for his Masters in the United States had helped his confidence in English.

Abelino: I think I always will prefer Portuguese because it's my native language. I (was) taught in Portuguese and OK, I can speak English today but I know that I don't have a perfect English. I know that I have too much to learn. I think the one year that I had in the United States was really good to learn English, because

today I think I can speak English and understand English because of this time in the United States.

Int: Uh Hum

Abelino: But sometimes I don't feel really in a good position to make a class or talking about important work in a seminary, a big seminary, but today I feel safer than before to speak English. But I always will prefer to speak Portuguese with some words that I am doing properly. (2)

Although Portuguese remained his preferred language, he was moving towards the use of English professionally, describing feeling 'safer' than previously presenting and discussing his work in English. Working within their home countries reduced the need for spoken English, as reported by Koroush when he described his language use in Iran.

Koroush: So reading and writing are very critical in English, but speaking maybe you don't use it so much. (2)

Chao however, felt he could actually communicate better professionally in English than Chinese at the time of the interview. As was the case for Diana, he had had very limited contact with researchers from his home country since starting his PhD studies in France.

Chao: But I will not discuss or talking er the scientific work in Chinese. Absolutely no Chinese. (3)

Consequently, he was confronted by the choice of using either English or French for professional communication. Interview 3, from which these comments are taken, was recorded after he had finished his PhD due to restrictions on his time over this period. Despite preferring to use English for clarity, post PhD he tried to develop his level in French.

Chao: Right now I prefer to use English, but I try to er, how to say, that I try to explain myself in French. (3)

Chao was referring specifically to his communication in a scientific environment. His interest in remaining in France motivated him to develop his knowledge of French, especially in view of his desire to show respect through the use of French as well as the practical considerations for day to day life. English however, remained essential.

4.1.7 Restrictions on language choice

Publishing an article in English in an international journal is a requirement to validate their PhD in France for all doctoral researchers at the institute. This need to use English to publish an article meant doctoral researchers had to improve their level in English, at least in academic writing.

Chao: It's not obligatory for me to write any article in English anymore, so I have chance to speak French as much as I like. Erm, what does that mean? That means, er I will spend more time in French rather than in English. (3)

Even with his desire to develop his competences in French, during his PhD he could not afford to invest more time and effort in French than English. This was a unique opportunity for Chao to develop his communication capabilities in French without having to make English a priority professionally. However, Chao was very aware of the need to exchange scientific research internationally and the role both reading and writing in English would play in this.

Chao: And the er, the Chinese researcher publish something, erm, erm, on a journal on a Chinese journal, with Chinese, some of the researcher try to writer, try to write, er try to write an article in English, but not so good. Erm, so, what I mean is that we have some Chinese researcher working on the same subject, but they don't exchange ideas with oversea. (3)

Exchanging with researchers overseas usually implies the use of English in science rather than any other languages, in this case French and Chinese, a fact of which Chao was very aware. He knew he would have to continue collaboration and academic writing in English, although French could be useful at a national conference in France or another French-speaking country. However, to integrate socially in France he also knew the barriers that exist without a good level in French.

Chao: if I try to make a travel, in France, ordinary people, citizens prefer speak French. (1)

The concept of English being the lingua franca for science was universally accepted by the SA doctoral researchers (Hultgren, 2018). This point was illustrated by Carlitos who in addition to his own barriers in French, its use would not have allowed his Brazilian supervisor to read his reports. English was imposed in this context as in addition to greater confidence in writing in English, his supervisors, one in France and the other in Brazil could read his work.

Carlitos: Mainly reports, I usually write in English because I'm not comfortable to write in French and because I need my supervisor from Brazil, erm for him to understand. (3)

Throughout this study, whether through articles, books or speaking to academics in France, English was viewed by the participants as an international language.

Abelino: Yeah, I feel free to use English here because science today, the language of science is English. If you need to publish your work, it's in English. If you needed to make a conference, it's in English. So I don't fear to use English every time inside a research institute because the language of science today is English so it's OK. (2)

The only exception was a comment Alex made, putting forward a different view of an international language, reminding me that language use is not limited to our perception in western countries.

Alex: Yes it's the area yes, and I'm not sure, you know we have so much debates about language and so on, but I was born in Soviet Union, Soviet Union first language was Russian, a language as we say of international communication. (2)

However, other than this use of Russian for international communication, the international lingua franca was considered to be English by the participants and essential for science.

Abelino: OK, erm, the language that I use for live in France is English. I have difficulties to speak French at the moment. I am student in French, but it's really hard to me, so English every time, in the work and outside with my friends. And typically my day is coming to the institute, working using English with my boss, with the people and during the weekend doing the things that normal people do, drink with friends and everything in English. Every time (laughs). (1)

Abelino used English in the various settings he describes above, although his own motivation also played a role in his choice of English.

4.1.8 Motivation

Professionally Abelino viewed English as the only language he needed to advance in a scientific career and therefore also felt able to use it at the institute. Having been accepted as a doctoral researcher, he felt capable of working as a member of a research team and was interested in adopting the identities of an international doctoral researcher. However, despite Abelino recognising the necessity of English, he admitted he would have preferred to use his home language, Portuguese, having already developed the necessary competences. He then qualified his comment with the observation that he enjoyed the experience of

'learning new things', but felt there may be less possibility of error if he could use his home language to explain his ideas.

Abelino: ["Unfortunately"] because you know if you have a tool to do something, that you are using this tool, using this tool is better than needing to learn a new tool to do the same thing you are already doing, you know. That is the reason I say 'unfortunately'. But I don't know if it's the better word, word because it's awesome when you are learning new things and you can use things to do other things. Learning English is nice, but sometimes you want to explain something that you know and you don't know how to explain it in the better way because you don't command that, you know, I think, you know. (2)

For a speaker, feeling unsure of their competency to fully explain or defend their point of view is not only frustrating, but can reduce their right to speak and be listened to in the context (Bourdieu, 1991; Block, 2007). This need for clarity was also present in Chao's comment,

Chao: Sometimes honestly I should say the situation occurs due to my personal lack of vocabulary. Surely, if I speak with a French people I cannot convert, I cannot translate all of my ideas into French so I need to speak English. That's the situation I'm in, I need several languages. (2)

Both comments from Abelino and Chao showed frustration, pointing to issues of power for them to be able to negotiate the language choice in the diverse situations SA doctoral researchers may encounter. However, both seem to be moving towards the identities of international researchers. Chao also commented on the use of English as a professional tool for international collaboration playing a part in the reconstruction of his identities as a doctoral researcher, rather than limiting its use to that of a student which may be a more passive use reading articles or listening to presentations.

Chao: Because usually we have international cooperation, the, the other groups, they usually use English. (1)

There is a change in the use of English for SA doctoral researchers from those of a student (Ye and Edwards, 2017). In addition, they were unable to fall back on their home languages in professional contexts in the way they would have been able to do in their home countries. English however, played a pivotal role in their studies to reach doctoral researcher level and so was not a new concept for them.

Abelino: The motivation was to, yeah, to, to absorb English because we need English, we can't run away, it's important today. We can't using our native language to do science, it's impossible, unfortunately. (2)

There was a change not only in use, but also in their own and others perception of themselves as communicators in English. Matteo reported its use during the time he was studying science in Italy.

Matteo: even when you study your education I think 70 or 80% of the books are in English so as a student you have to face a, English language, (supervisor)

A similar situation in Iran was also reported by Koroush who required English for his studies.

Koroush: At studies we will use it a lot yes. Because especially when you start a graduate studies, I mean Masters and PhD. OK you need the English language because it's the language of science. You read papers, you meet, you read articles in English and if you want to publish your results you have to write in English. So reading and writing are very critical in English, but speaking maybe you don't use it so much. It happens from time to time for example if you have foreign guests, especially in university I mean. Maybe somebody is coming from abroad and you use English as communicating easily. But most of the time you use reading and writing especially if you continue graduate studies. In bachelor, no it's not common to use English. (2)

Koroush reported a slightly different use of ELF for studies in his home country, Iran. He described written English rather than spoken as being required, as communication with colleagues would be in their home languages. The findings from this research showed the use of home languages for this activity for SA doctoral researchers in France was not possible, leading to the use of ELF in this context. Consequently, spoken English is required more by SA doctoral researchers than those studying in their home countries. As future international researchers this could be viewed as a very positive result of their study abroad. For social interaction and day to day activities outside the institute however, French is required. The use of home languages was limited to contact with family and friends or watching films.

4.2 Discussion

This discussion considers the findings for my research question 1 through the model I created for the contexts encountered by the SA doctoral researchers

4.2.1 English as a lingua franca

ELF, which plays a central role in my model, professionally forms part of the initiation into the world of science for the SA doctoral researchers (Chen, 2016). Consequently ELF is viewed in this research as a social practice, with its users accessing a community of practice, rather than a speech community (Kalocsai,

2014) and so gaining social capital through this practice. ELF is used within a community of practice working towards a shared goal and so encourages mutual support and negotiation of meaning between speakers (Kalocsai, 2014). The use of ELF by the SA doctoral researchers in their professional context at the institute was acceptable, with no barriers being reported in this context by the participant SA doctoral researchers. However, the supervisor Claudine's reported barriers for an Egyptian doctoral researcher, showed that barriers in this context were possible, if rare, and legally defensible (France, La loi Fioraso. Gouvernement français, France 2013; France, La loi Toubon. Gouvernement français, France 1994). This situation is discussed in more depth in section 4.4.7, looking at speech communities.

The use of ELF is also part of the wider international research community to which the SA doctoral researchers are seeking access and participation (Hultgren, 2018; Plo Alastrué, 2015). The view of ELF being used in communities of practice, rather than a speech community seems a highly appropriate and relevant concept for the research in the context of SA for international researchers.

Once outside the institute however, the concept of a speech community using French appeared to be supported by another finding from my data. Whilst my findings showed cultural awareness by certain SA doctoral researchers in an effort to gain access to a community, this was linked to the French language, rather than English (Kalocsai, 2014). Intercultural awareness for English in the context in which it is used is in relation to the research community. As such, the SA doctoral researchers may not perceive this culture as linked to the language, but their discipline and the research community. Chao, who made an effort to adapt to French culture to be able to use the French language more effectively, had also considered the cultural aspects of English separately, which he felt were at risk of being divorced from the language, becoming just a vehicle for information and losing its own culture. However he did not view the research culture as being linked to ELF, adapting to diverse communities, but as a separate entity. This is a new angle on the negative consequences of a reliance on ELF which have been considered through domain loss, a process of losing academic registers in other languages considered by Plo Alastrué (2015), Hultgren (2018) and Airey et al. (2017). However, Chao, as a speaker of Mandarin Chinese, saw potentially negative consequences for English rather than his own language.

There was a general acceptance amongst the SA doctoral researchers of English as the language of science, assisting in careers as well as its usefulness for travel and international friendships, rather than a means to explore the culture or even contact with English-speakers. This supported the idea of ELF being a denationalized language (Kaypak and Ortaçtepe, 2014), able to create its own culture to adapt to the community that requires it to assist communication. A community of practice through ELF is based on the social practices of the group, rather than linguistic practices as would be the case in a speech community (Kalocsai, 2014). The concept of the use of ELF being a social practice therefore does not mean that no cultural awareness is required to access this community (Kaypak and Ortaçtepe, 2014), but is created in a third space (Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher, 2019a; Burman and Pitman, 2010) for and by the researchers (Kalocsai, 2014). The use of third space is explored in more depth in section 4.4.3.

Intercultural awareness, the *savoir être* (Byram, 1997), or attitude towards the language was modified, to allow access to a scientific community, reliant on practices relating to scientific research. The *savoir apprendre* (Byram, 1997) was also modified, with other members of the practice community viewing initiation into their knowledge and practices as necessary for access and participation to the scientific community. This was supported by the reaction of other researchers to Matteo's use of English in a social setting. Within the scientific world, Matteo as a supervisor who had already gained his PhD and had more experience in his discipline, was able to use his professional role with colleagues to have his request respected outside his direct community of practice. No SA doctoral researcher reported being able to achieve this, despite having membership of the community of practice in their research in which their communication in English was fully acceptable.

The concept of language as part of the practices and knowledge from communities of practice at the institute may possibly have increased the SA doctoral researchers' access and participation in this context in non-English-speaking countries. No supervisor interviewed in this research considered English as their home language, and only one supervisor, Yann, who considered his home language as French, gave his interview in English. As a result, the SA doctoral researchers' use of ELF is less threatened than in a context with other doctoral researchers and supervisors who consider English as their home language. Language was considered one of the eight intensifiers in the research undertaken

by Winchester-Seeto et al. (2014), a barrier that would be considerably reduced in non-English-speaking contexts using EFL.

4.2.2 French

The use of French was somewhat different, providing access to a speech community, rather than a community of practice (Kalocsai, 2014). The use of French for social interaction was required by the SA doctoral researchers even within the institute and most perceived it as appreciated by administrative staff. Chao, Alex, Manon and Carlitos all reported making an effort to use French with administrative staff, and Abelino and Koroush both reported trying to use French with colleagues in the professional context and being able to learn from this. Koroush, Cong and Abelino all reported in later interviews investing less in French once they understood the lack of job prospects in France for them following doctoral studies, a barrier also reported by Calikoglu (2018) in Finland. Priority was therefore given to developing their level in ELF that offered greater participation on a global scale for their scientific community, opening up the possibility of work in other countries. However, Manon's choice of French showed that there was a possibility not to work in English. Manon accepted that her level of English was low, but she was more interested in developing her French. Her decision may limit her choice of research posts later to either working in French or Portuguese, restricting possibilities to work internationally (Gentil and Séror, 2014), and was a risk the others did not wish to take.

Moving out through the contexts represented by the circles in Figure 4, further away from the community of practice and into the speech community, French became more necessary for communication. The use of the local language for social interaction at work was reported by Zhang and Harzing (2016) in China and Nam (2018) in Finland and Australia with South-Korean students. Similarly at the institute, leaving the contexts of work or studies, French-speakers reverted to French during breaks, despite being the same individuals with whom the SA doctoral researchers were able to use ELF in the professional context. The fact that nearly all communication outside the professional context at the institute and with the local population was undertaken in French was an aspect of their stay they had not considered before arriving. The lack of contact with the local population as well as the use of the host country language in social interaction with colleagues or other students also reflects findings in other research (Kalocsai, 2014). As SA doctoral researchers live in the country for three years avoiding

French completely is impossible. Translations were often unavailable for many day to day activities, for example public transport and healthcare reported by the SA doctoral researchers, with both of these activities creating barriers through lack of available information. Whilst translation software may provide some assistance with written information, it is of limited use with spoken language.

4.2.2.1 Translanguaging and language choice

A possible choice that offers a solution to language barriers is translanguaging (Li, 2018). Translanguaging was a potential method of communication within the professional context between the SA doctoral researcher and the supervisor. This involved the SA doctoral researchers using English to communicate and the supervisor using French. This solution allowed the SA doctoral researchers to not only learn vocabulary and grammatical structures, but also to observe other aspects of communication in French without the language anxiety they may have experienced if they were obliged to use French exclusively. This method of communication was only reported by supervisors, not SA doctoral researchers, who perhaps whilst enjoying the possibilities and benefits this method of communication afforded were unaware of its important role in their communication within the community of practice.

4.2.3 Home languages

At least one other speech community exists for the SA doctoral researchers, their home language or languages. These are speech communities to which they had already gained access and could participate fully as effective and successful communicators. The language was often used with communities in which they enjoyed close relationships with others such as family members, or long-term friendships. However, during their study abroad these speech communities became virtual, relying on messaging services and social media (Mikal, 2011). As a result of this possibility of virtual contact with this community or communities, they were able to participate with other members at any point in the day, including time they were involved in a community in France. They are represented in Figure 4 by a band that potentially crosses all the contexts, as contact is possible at almost any moment. However, the use of home languages professionally in science outside their home country is limited. The fact that the researchers expected the use of English in France reflects the global use of English as a medium of instruction in science as well as many other subjects (Hultgren, 2018). With English forming part of the initiation into the world of science that the SA

doctoral researchers experience during their time in France as doctoral researchers, its use was seen as an acquisition rather than a loss, offering access and participation in their target community (Kalocsai, 2014). Koroush took a very positive view of the use of English within the professional scientific research community. He had already experienced the need to make a choice between Azerbaijani Turkish and Persian in his home country for education, Iran. He was also aware of the professional barriers from using Azerbaijani Turkish in Iran and was receptive to the potential barriers of not using English in an international career. The need to use English professionally has an influence on the second research question, negotiating language choice considered below.

4.2.4 The implications of language choices

Through this research question I was able to understand why specific linguistic choices were made by the SA doctoral researchers in this academic multilingual context. However, when considering this research question, I had not anticipated what an important aspect of daily life language choice had always been for so many of the SA doctoral researchers. As described above, Cong, Koroush and Alex all used two languages in their home countries and Chao, who only spoke Mandarin as a home language, had grown up hearing two other Chinese languages used in his home environment and a third in his school. These individuals had personal experience of the fact that the choice of language in the context often brings with it concepts of symbolic and social capital as well as the resulting issues of power (Bourdieu, 1991) in addition to access and participation in communities (Joseph, 2016; Morita, 2004; Lave and Wenger, 1991). They were aware that those capable of better communication in the target language have access to much greater social capital, leading to feelings of superiority and inferiority within the community (Zhang and Harzing, 2016). Language choice professionally, and the complex mix of advantages and disadvantages that can be gained or lost through the use of English (Martin Rojo, 2017), was not a new concept for any of the SA doctoral researchers. All had required English to study research articles at Master level in their home countries.

To explore the language choices that the SA doctoral researchers employed in various contexts, my analysis of the data collected showed certain uses for specific languages. Below, the main themes from the analysis in this research for French, English and their home languages are presented. A complete list of

themes is found in Appendix H (p.247), with examples of comments found in Appendix I (p.259).

The use of French

- Day to day interaction outside the institute
- Use of French in the laboratories
- Social interaction at the institute
- Protocols for the labs
- Workshops at the institute

Barriers existed in some contexts for the SA doctoral researchers if they did not use French at all. The Jacobin approach calls for national unity through the use of French. Outside the institute this may influence the language choice of certain speakers. However, it is possible that this did not have an influence on the choice of language for social interaction at the institute. The use of local languages in similar contexts with SA students and HCE in companies has been found in both university settings and multilingual, multinational companies (Nam, 2018; Zhang and Harzing, 2016). The laws Toubon (France, La loi Toubon. Gouvernement français, France 1994) and Fioraso (France, La loi Fioraso. Gouvernement français, France 2013) to protect the French language and promote its use, do not appear to have a great influence on the choice of language in the professional or academic context other than the workshops at the institute. Otherwise, the language used in both of these contexts is English.

The use of English

- Academic use
- Social interaction with international friends
- Internet
- Travelling
- Reading instructions for equipment

The use of English within professional contexts was not unexpected and has been well documented (Hultgren, 2018; Lillis and Curry, 2010; Kwan, 2010; Flowerdew, 2008). English is the lingua franca for science, employed for following discussions within the discipline, collaborating and networking with others in the discipline as well as publishing their own research (Hultgren, 2018; Lillis and Curry, 2010; Kwan, 2010; Flowerdew, 2008). The professional context at the institute can be

considered as a community of practice and as such ELF is an acceptable language choice. The SA doctoral researchers also had a positive view of English, allowing communication on an international level generally and enjoying the freedom of using the Internet, travelling or work abroad.

The use of home languages

- Feelings of ownership towards their home languages
- Reduction in the risk of being misunderstood
- Enjoyment of using home language with friends and family - telephone, messaging services and social media (for Chao, contacting family and friends is his main leisure activity)
- Relaxation

The use and importance of home languages for the SA doctoral researchers varied. Certain uses, for example Alex's use of Russian films to listen to and relax as he fell asleep were very personal and showed a need for comfort in these languages.

The use of English or French was required by the SA doctoral researchers in this research in the contexts presented in Figure 4. Whilst French was used to access a speech community, English had a role within the communities of practice at the institute and internationally. Their access, achieved partly through their scientific knowledge and position as a doctoral researcher was facilitated the use of ELF internationally. Negotiation of language use in various contexts therefore was a deciding factor for their integration into communities and is explored in the following research question.

4.3 Research question 2

How do study abroad researchers negotiate between the two languages they require for their study abroad?

The possibility of language negotiation varied depending on the context. The comments from the SA doctoral researchers at times showed some frustration from a lack of vocabulary or grammatical structures to explain themselves clearly in a context. In addition, this could lead to the possibility of certain barriers to negotiate their language choice. Other considerations led to the negotiation of language use and are explored in the various contexts that the SA doctoral

researchers encountered during their stay. A summary of the potential for negotiations in the contexts is presented below.

4.3.1 Overview

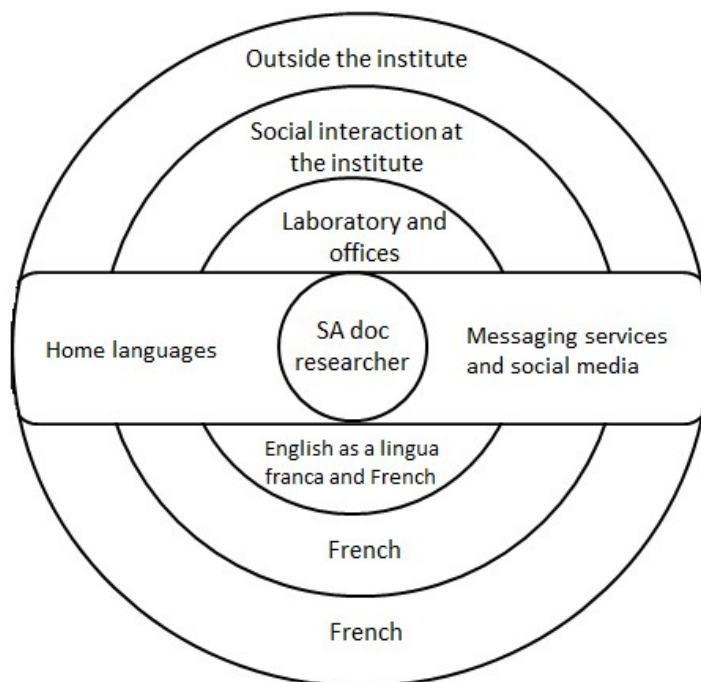


Figure 2 Doctoral researcher contexts

- The inner circle as the professional context in the laboratories and offices was considered as a community of practice rather than a speech community. This community allowed the use of ELF as an accepted norm as part of the community of practice for international research (Hultgren, 2018; Cameron et al. 2011). Greater freedom and power existed for the SA doctoral researchers to negotiate the use of English or French in this context, and informal language learning was also reported by all the SA doctoral researchers other than Cong. Another form of communication that presented in research question 1 allowed the SA doctoral researchers to have greater control when negotiating between the two languages. Translanguaging, used in this research in its original sense and described by Li (2018), was employed by the supervisors with the SA doctoral researchers, with the supervisors speaking French and the SA doctoral researchers speaking English.
- The middle circle represents social interaction at the institute, in which the SA doctoral researchers have less power to negotiate. The language used in this context is often French, which may present barriers for certain SA doctoral researchers. ELF remains a possibility in this context, although

negotiating its use is often less successful. As Kalocsai (2014) also reported, the SA doctoral researchers questioned the capabilities of the local doctoral researchers to communicate in English on subjects outside their discipline. Most of the SA doctoral researchers however, also found communicating in English for the interviews tiring.

- The outer circle, in the environment outside the institute the choice of language was rarely possible, with most speakers only able to communicate in French. This led to some inventive ways to negotiate meaning including mimes, pointing and drawings being reported. Formal language learning of French was not often continued by the SA doctoral researchers due to their heavy workload.

The barrier of time to devote to language studies was amongst the potential intensifiers within English-speaking countries identified in research undertaken by Winchester-Seeto et al. (2014). Her work is relevant to this study with other intensifiers from her research also identified in my research, including:

- language
- cultural differences
- separation from support
- separation from the familiar
- stereotyping

These barriers were reported to be higher in social rather than professional contexts and are discussed in more detail below.

4.3.2 Negotiating understanding in a professional context

The possibilities to negotiate language use and understanding were generally very open within the working environment with members of staff who were available to assist the SA doctoral researchers. When experiencing difficulties to understand and follow laboratory protocols Carlitos commented:

Carlitos: searching the words that I miss. Er, if I can't find, or understand clearly, I would ask some French people.

Int: uh hum (encouraging)

Carlitos: My colleagues, or maybe my supervisor, and - also I, sometimes I look some English versions in the Internet, of the protocols that are more sec, more general. I can find some English words, it's really easier. (1)

Here, Carlitos evoked another method to assist in his negotiation of meaning and language use at the institute, the use of translation software in addition to discussions with French-speakers. Interestingly he reported limitations in the use of translation software and spoke about using the knowledge and understanding of the French-speakers.

Carlitos: The only problem is sometimes the, the software is not that good, and you can't, you just can't find the meaning that you are looking for. In this case the question is really helpful. (2)

Chao however used another method to communicate directly with speakers of other languages, pen and paper to negotiate meaning with other speakers, although he also reported using software.

Chao: Usually, I bring a pen and paper to help us understand each others [sic] and we also use google to search and to help us make an explanation. That could be two efficient way [sic] and so, but it depends the condition. (1)

Abelino reported another basic method of communication,

Abelino: And when I don't understand and they don't understand me I using the hands, pointing and I did it in the United States and I did it the same in France. (1)

These methods all allowed the SA doctoral researchers to take more control of communication in various contexts, and so become less dependent. Negotiation between the understanding and use of the two languages was also undertaken by Koroush within his laboratory. Both the idea of clearer communication with the use of English, and informal language learning were used in the same context, discussed in section 4.4.1.

Koroush: During the day, I, most of the time I use English, because I know more than French. But some, sometimes I request my colleagues to speak French with me, so I get used to the French and learn a bit more. (1)

Koroush made the request, exercising his right to speak and be spoken to, and was listened to by his colleagues, who complied with his request. This showed that he had the possibility and right to ask his colleagues to speak French, which may have made communication more complicated for them, but allowed him to learn more French and improved his position within the speech community.

The comments from the SA doctoral researchers in this research above showed that generally they were able to achieve the communication possibilities described by Koroush and negotiate language use within a professional context to develop

their identities as researchers. In addition to these responses, the interviews with each supervisor brought interesting insights to the research. I was extremely interested in the languages they reported to have used with the SA doctoral researchers, how these choices were made and if they felt this affected their relationship in any way. Certain supervisors though had very specific information they wished to give me, for example Claudine. She appeared not to have heard my question at the beginning of the interview, and instead described the situation introduced above that occurred in her research group. She wished to tell the story of an unfortunate episode with a SA doctoral researcher that was of great importance to her. This episode showed that occasionally the negotiation SA doctoral researchers wish to undertake in a professional context may be blocked by others, revealing the lack of real power they have in negotiations if there is strong resistance. This is discussed in greater depth in section 4.4.7 below looking at speech communities. Claudine described the reaction of certain technicians towards an Egyptian SA doctoral researcher some years ago. Her comments showed that very strong feelings existed on both sides.

Int: So, good morning. Could you tell me about a typical day and the languages you use and with whom, spoken and written?

Claudine: So, euh, when I had an Egyptian student that arrived, who spoke not a word of French but did speak English and very quickly we noticed that in the team meetings it was impossible to work. There were technicians here that said «personally, if she doesn't speak French, I'm not working with her » (my translation).

I have known Claudine for many years and we have worked together closely. This was a story she wished to share and was a very interesting insight into the possible conflicts that may confront the SA doctoral researchers, although it was extremely unusual and not reported by anyone else. However, whilst this context is unusual, the technicians were within their rights to insist on using French as required by law, making any negotiation on language choice impossible. Claudine reported barriers for certain technicians she worked with, although the problem was becoming less common.

Claudine: We are working with technicians and researchers who have a high level of education euh... less and less, but the older generation, those who have left or are retiring, they struggle with English a lot, they have a lot of problems and it's ... sometimes it's even a rejection and they take the view that « they are in France for three years, they should learn French »! (my translation)

She also reported being powerless in this situation.

Claudine: And from a management point of view, I couldn't ask the technicians who didn't want to speak English to work with her, it wasn't possible. (my translation)

She was also aware of the barriers generally that can be created by not learning French during their stay in France.

Claudine: Personally I, except if I feel that there is some incomprehension and so to put the person at ease, I prefer to speak French, because I have realised that living in France without speaking French, it complicates integration with not only the French but also work here! (my translation)

Claudine and the SA doctoral researcher were legally obliged to accept their refusal to use English, which she explained to the Egyptian doctoral researcher although Claudine did continue to use English at first.

Claudine: So I had to explain this to S, I said she would have to learn French and so she did, little by little. But when we really had to work together, that I wanted her to understand etc - for work I would speak English, (my translation)

Claudine's method of adapting language choice to achieve effective communication and language learning is one that is also adopted by other supervisors at the institute. This is used as an initiation to French and offers access to the speech community as well as being an effective form of communication and language teaching.

4.3.3 Initiation to French

The initiation to French with speakers using different languages, or translanguaging, seemed to be used frequently by the supervisors allowing SA doctoral researchers to develop their own language competences in French. This method lowered possible language barriers and allowed situated language learning to take place within the community of practice. Four of the supervisors, Julie, Claudine, Diana and Yann reported employing this method. They also reported discussing the choice of language with the SA doctoral researcher and also suggested the solution of individual language choice, translanguaging, rather than agreeing on one language. If translanguaging was chosen, the supervisors used French speaking slowly with the SA doctoral researcher who could then reply in English, described here by the supervisor, Julie.

Julie: I will ask them which they prefer, do they understand French do they prefer - how do they prefer we exchange? I'll ask them if they feel more at home, do they wish to progress in French in which case I would speak to them in French slowly and they can reply in English if they please. (my translation)

English was also used to check SA doctoral researchers' understanding. Yann reported speaking in French first, then moving to English if he felt that the other speaker had not fully understood him.

Yann: Er well, it's erm, when I feel that they don't really catch what I say in French, I prefer to shift to English.

This is another interesting way of using translanguaging, negotiating between supervisor and doctoral researcher. If the SA doctoral researcher was unable to understand part of the utterance, a translation may help from the supervisor, allowing greater flexibility, possibly leading to questioning of a particular word or phrase.

Abelino: But today I think I can er, understand some words and sometimes I can start one conversation in French, a little bit. But later I must to change to English again. (2)

Negotiation of language choice during breaks, despite being with the same group of individuals, can be more complex.

4.3.4 Negotiating understanding in social interaction at the institute

When describing communication at the institute, barriers were reported to social interaction during their breaks by several SA doctoral researchers. French was used to discuss general subjects and build friendships in this context, a practice that worked well between French-speakers, but excluded speakers of other languages. This was in contrast to the use of English in a professional context, confirmed by observations in the laboratories showing that English was the first choice to communicate if the person was not known to the speaker. Cong felt the French-speakers used French unless they were forced to speak English.

Cong : Err, no actually I think French da, don't like speak English. If, I think they only speak English when they have to speak English you know! (1)

However, Cong was unable to negotiate any access to this community during breaks, leaving him feeling very isolated.

Cong: Yes, yes, also just like you know we can coffee, coffee break, coffee time when you go to coffee room and you just for breaking, you may drink a cup of coffee or you just some kind of snack or something. They just speak French.

Int: OK

Cong: So, sometimes you just can't get along, right? I don't know -

Int : Hmm (agreeing) yeah,

Cong : Get along with them, so you will feel lonely [sic] you know. They don't speak it even when you are there, you are there, they don't speak Fre., they don't speak English. (1)

The other SA doctoral researchers did not express such strong feelings of isolation, but access to this community requiring social interaction was limited. Abelino reported that the level of conversational English was also a barrier to communication with the French-speaking doctoral researchers.

Abelino: Yes, some students don't speak English very well and sometimes it's really difficult to talk with them, but -

Int: So again any ... [solutions]?

Abelino: [Yeah, in this case] I try using my poor French (laughs) and my hands! (laughs) (1)

This comment from Abelino is of great importance, suggesting that the lack of communication with the French-speaking doctoral researchers may not be a choice as Cong suggested, but due to their level of English for social interaction. This opinion was mirrored by one of the supervisors, Josephine when she spoke about the SA doctoral researchers' level in English, she commented,

Josephine: so this English can be very rich, or it can be very poor, (my translation).

There were barriers experienced by certain SA doctoral researchers when using English outside their discipline during the interviews for this research. I found I made significantly more interventions due to hesitancy as a result of being unsure about vocabulary, pronunciation or grammar than the supervisors who spoke French. Carlitos and Chao also experienced this barrier as they used inventive methods to communicate in addition to attempting communication in French.

Carlitos: No, when we go out to have fun, maybe there are French-speaking people, but when I have just, everyday problems, normally it's just me, and I use a lot of mimics! (1)

Chao: Usually, I bring a pen and paper to help us understand each others [sic] and we also use google to search and to help us make an explanation. That could be two efficient way and so, but it depends the condition. uh hum (confirming). (1)

Carlitos also tried rephrasing comments in French, with varying success.

Carlitos: [I try to change the words], and say another way.

Int: And has it ever blocked completely?

Carlitos: ... Well, I had some minutes of silence maybe. (laughs) (1)

Despite being able to communicate well in English in most situations, Carlitos reported that his first choice of language would be French

Carlitos: It depends on the person, but mainly I try to use French first. (1)

Carlitos was referring to his language choice at the institute, but this was a strategy that Carlitos required in his everyday life. Outside the institute language negotiation was more limited, with few occasions when the SA doctoral researchers could communicate in any language other than French due to limitations from the other speaker.

Carlitos: No outside of (name of the institute) it's impossible, it has to be French! (1)

All the SA doctoral researchers were unprepared for this aspect of their stay in France, and gave advice to prospective SA doctoral researchers to start learning French before arriving in France. Carlitos was the only SA doctoral researcher to have studied French before arriving. He continued classes when possible and made the most of every opportunity to speak French. However, he reported encountering a further potential barrier, the number of speakers.

Carlitos: Yeah, yeah. To understand what the person tells me is more difficult. Err, in fact when it's just one person talking in French, I think it's quite, more easier [sic] to understand. But when the French people talk to themselves, it's impossible! (1)

This barrier of understanding the other speaker, either through the number of speakers talking together or their accents led to unexpected language choices at the university, the French lessons at the university using English (EMI). Manon also admitted to requesting that the others speak English as she found their accent in French too difficult to follow with ELF being used to negotiate meaning within the community rather than French.

Manon: It's a different, really different, difficult accent. For me, if for understand the French.

Int: Hmm (listening)

Manon: So it's more easier, understand English

Int: OK, so you ask her to speak English?

Manon: Yeah. Basically questions, - (3)

4.3.5 Investment in French

4.3.5.1 Formal language learning

Despite the use of English for academic activities, the use of French was unavoidable during the SA doctoral researchers' stay with English not an acceptable option in most situations outside professional activities. As a result, the SA doctoral researchers were required to negotiate their use of French in various contexts, other than surprisingly, their formal language classes for French. In addition, French is required by law for studies.

Diana: Some they arrive with some knowledge of English, but according to the rules in (name of establishment), people came here to make PhD if it's study abroad they are obliged to take French course at the university for one or two years. And at the end of PhD studies they have to write part of those thesis in French.

Whilst the SA doctoral researchers, other than Cong, spoke of a desire to develop their CCs in French during their stay, Koroush and Abelino reported that professionally, French would not be of great value to them in their future careers. Cong, who at first reported a refusal to learn French, expressed interest in learning the language if he were to remain for a longer stay, which for personal reasons and the limited opportunities in France, was not possible. Koroush and Abelino not only viewed English as the language of science, but they also reported a lack of job opportunities for them. Both these factors reduced their motivation to develop their CCs further in French, which in turn, lowered their interest in formal language lessons.

Koroush: I would apply for it. I may go to UK, so now at the moment I have no solid idea what will happen, but most probably no we will not stay here.

Int: And so this perhaps has an influence on your motivation to learn French?

Koroush: Yes, of course. (3)

Negotiating between the use of English and French was also affected by the amount of time they had to study French. Priority was generally given to their heavy workload for their PhD and the requirements for communicating professionally in English. This meant as Abelino explained, that the time available to develop CCs through formal French lessons was limited.

Abelino: Yes, I am doing a French course after work, but it's a short time, so I don't have too much time to study because I need to dedicate me in the work and I am doing in my time. (1)

In reality studying French was not a priority for most of the SA doctoral researchers. Koroush echoed the reaction of Abelino, with PhD studies considered of greater importance than learning French. In this comment French takes a back seat for Koroush, due to time constraints.

Koroush: Erm, when I started my studies here I contributed to a class, French course at (name of university) for one semester, but the next semester, er 2 months ago, I quitted this class because it was time consuming and I was so busy to attend all classes and do all homeworks [sic]. So I didn't continue the class. (3)

However, as the findings from research question 1 showed, the choice during social, rather than professional interaction at the institute and life outside the institute was usually imposed and almost exclusively French. Again, shown in research question 1, one exception was the language choice during the formal French lessons at the university, where English was used as the main language of communication to explain French grammar and vocabulary as well as organising individual or group activities. Abelino felt that this choice was necessary for him to follow the class.

Abelino: It's good because the professor when she needed explain us something she use English. If everything was in French, I couldn't understand everything, the course. (1)

The choice of English by the teacher, although not negotiated directly by the SA doctoral researchers, allowed them to participate more fully, negotiating their identities within the group through the use of English. However, this use of English also extended to the discussions between members of the groups with English being reported as the language of choice within this multilingual group and was negotiated directly between the students during their activities in class as well as social interaction.

Manon: I use for example, I use English in my class, French especially in the semester, erm, last semester because I did level A1 (French pronunciation), no A2 so they are beginners with I think ten persons but ni, eight Chinese. So we not all speak French, only English, it's more easier for them (2)

This choice by the students and the teachers to negotiate situations was interesting, possibly reflecting the position of English internationally and was the most unexpected finding in the study for me. I also studied French at the same establishment about 26 years ago, and the language used was always French, both for lessons and discussions between students to avoid excluding anyone. The choice of language for student discussions was not imposed by the university, but as we were from many different linguistic backgrounds it was the only language we shared. This has perhaps changed with enough English being understood by all participants for basic exchanges. In addition, in contrast to the majority of subjects studied at the university, pricing for these courses is independent and more expensive. There is now a greater commercial aspect to the university's lessons in French as a foreign language than nearly thirty years ago. This is reflected in a significant increase in price, even taking inflation into account. Whilst the SA doctoral researchers' fees were paid by the institute, it is possible that individuals who pay their own fees may influence the choice of language. They may feel justified in complaining having paid quite high fees if, as was the case for Abelino, they were unable to follow the course if it was all in French.

Interestingly the political and legal changes of the Toubon and Fioraso laws in France were made after my personal experience. These laws require French to be used for teaching, even excluding the minority languages of France, such as Breton. These findings however, bring into question the effectiveness in reality of this legislation. It could be argued that controlling language choice between individuals through law is impractical at best.

4.3.5.2 Informal language learning at the institute

The shortage of time for formal language learning reinforced the importance of informal learning at the institute, assisting in the development of CCs, and promoting situated language learning. In addition to the use of translanguaging, being present with individuals who were willing to communicate and take the time to explain gave access to the language and culture increased situated learning. The *savoir comprendre* and *savoir apprendre* in Byram's work (1997) considering

IA, assisted in negotiating language and as a result impacted on individuals' identities. With the exception of Cong, the SA doctoral researchers reported having benefited from informal learning in the laboratories in this way.

Carlitos: But, I listen a lot and that helps also, because I'm, I start to, to notice the constructions, of the sentences and I learn a lot this way also. (2)

This was another way that Communicative Competences (CC), Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) and Intercultural awareness (IA) were explored through informal language learning. Manon, Alex and Chao also reported informal language learning outside the working environment, with Chao, reporting improving speaking, writing and thinking. He explained that a lot of the work he undertook on language was personal study.

Chao: Yeah. Inside myself. Learning by listening. Well, maybe fifty times or more than that. This is one way I feel is very good for me because I don't have a lot of time to have a one or two hours learning. Usually I listen with the video, listen with the yeah, the words, during the working. Hmm, and secondly I read a lot of articles. Thirdly I need to write down my own article. I think during the writing it's also kinds of practicing. I know how to, I found out, I found out a lot of errors of English writing or speaking during the preparation of manuscript. Er, and er also I did a lot of exercises of my defence. And my professor helped me to find out my errors and I think these four parts are the most, are the most important way for me to develop my English. Speaking, writing and thinking. (2)

Chao adapted his choice of language to the other speaker and reported chatting to friends outside his laboratory or office during breaks. To work on pronunciation and sentence structure he used recordings of TED talks, the only SA doctoral researcher to report this activity. He also described greater interaction with other researchers generally than most of the SA doctoral researchers.

Chao: and during the dinner, maybe I will speak French with my friends. (1)

Alex and Manon reported similar success with negotiating access to French-speaking groups

Alex: so I use French with my colleagues, French with my French girlfriend (1)

Manon: Yes, I think it's good and I spend all day in French. With my friends, with my boss, with other people, with shopping in supermarket, all Eng, all French. All French. (1)

Manon, Chao and Alex were the only SA doctoral researchers to comment on successfully negotiating communication and the use of French with friends during

breaks as well as using French with French-speakers for social interaction. Manon used another medium for informal language learning, as she enjoyed listening to the radio in French as she walked to work, not only to improve her understanding, but to create a basis for discussions, allowing her to negotiate her language use and greater access to the community with colleagues.

Manon: All day I listen radio (French pronunciation) French. All day really. Er one hour minimum er radio, I don't know RFI, no RAFRF1 (1)

When we discussed her comment together later it became apparent that by the expression 'all day' she actually meant everyday as she walked to work. She was very motivated to develop her CCs in French, preferring to improve the host country language rather than English. She was also the only SA doctoral researcher to speak about following the news, and actively seek subjects to open conversations with French-speakers at the institute. As it was possible to speak French in professional settings, this allowed her to identify more closely with her French-speaking colleagues and adopt a more central role in the community. Professionally French was used in virtual messenger groups at the institute. This allowed participation within the community of practice in French for the SA doctoral researcher within a safe environment, using colleagues or translation software to check their contributions or understanding of others.

Koroush: The main strat, strategy is just speaking with people in the lab, but I also use messenger. We have a group in (name of the institute), for staff and students that we can communicate by messenger. The common language that is used in that messenger is French, so I read some texts that friends send each other and it's also a bit helpful. (3)

Translation software played a role in informal language learning for Chao who reported using software to check his e-mails in French,

Chao: Because I can search on the Internet to make sure whether it's OK or not, whether the sentence I am writing is OK or not. It's just to show respect. (1)

This use of software was also described by Carlitos.

Int: ..if you're writing e-mails which language do you choose?

Carlitos: French.

Carlitos: Because it's easier to check if I'm doing the writing correctly, because I have google translation! And it's good for learning also. (1)

Despite the use of software being similar, the motivation Carlitos and Chao gave for using French and the available software was extremely different. I explore this in more depth in section 4.4.5, looking at cultural awareness and respect. The motivations behind choices are likely to have an impact on the identities of the SA doctoral researchers through the challenges they encounter and the success or otherwise of their negotiations to achieve communication within, and access to, the various communities.

4.4 Discussion

4.4.1 The professional context

The findings from the data concerning the professional context showed that the use of either ELF or French were equally acceptable. The SA doctoral researchers also felt able to ask for assistance in learning French or understanding information given in French, for example, the protocols. Through the concept of LPP (Lave and Wenger, 1991), assistance with language and science was accessed through collaboration with more experienced members of the community of practice, which they required to become fully participating members. Access and participation to the community was possible being scientists involved in scientific research. Koroush's request that colleagues use French with him at certain times was listened to and complied with by other members of the community, showing active and effective membership of the community of practice. Carlitos also reported being given assistance with his French to understand instructions at the institute if required. As legitimate members of the community of practice they were able to exercise the right to speak and be listened to (Bourdieu, 1991; Block, 2007).

These rights accorded Carlitos the possibility to discuss work with colleagues. He was able to access assistance in this context and did not report any specific barriers. This showed that the members of the community of practice were working together in a common enterprise, sharing resources in order to complete a task (Wenger, 1998; Lave and Wenger, 1991). In addition, Carlitos, Manon and Chao used translation software to increase their independence, although Carlitos had some reservations about its accuracy. Despite viewing learning English as an opportunity to learn, Abelino made the point that the tools he already had to work were not adapted to international study. This led to a need to develop new tools which he was not able to use as competently. He described some frustration from this situation, unable to explain his ideas as clearly, and modifying his position in

the community through issues of linguistic, social and symbolic power. However, Chao saw English as a professional tool and an integral part of his identity as an international researcher. Manon though did not develop this within her identities and used French with her community of practice rather than English, showing that the exclusive use of spoken French was acceptable in the professional context, with a real choice between the use of French or ELF at least at the institute. From a career point of view, English functions as the lingua franca and is a fundamental part of their identity as an international researcher, needed to keep up to date with conversations of the discipline and publishing their own research (Hultgren, 2018; Lillis and Curry, 2010; Kwan, 2010; Flowerdew, 2008).

4.4.2 The social context at the institute

As shown by Manon the negotiation of language use was more open within the working context in the laboratory and offices. The data from the laboratory observations showed that English was used at first with unknown individuals, but interaction could be continued in French. Kalocsai (2014) also reported ELF being a more successful choice in communities of practice than speech communities. The findings from my research confirm this, with ELF used successfully within the professional context, in contrast to social interaction where French was required. The use of local languages by local populations in host countries for social interaction during breaks has been documented in other research (Nam, 2018; Zhang and Harzing, 2016). Social interaction and building friendships through ELF at the institute appeared limited, as French-speaking colleagues reverted to French. The dominant language in a context often provides access to communities (Pavlenko, 2004). This agrees with Hyland (2009) who also argues that the symbolic value of discourse in establishments, controlling and dominating contexts are shaped by dominant groups with access and the right to use these discourses unevenly distributed between participants. As users of the dominant language, the French-speakers are at the centre of the speech community used for social interaction at the institute. They are able to control membership through linguistic and cultural attributes required in the context (Giampapa, 2004). As a result, during social contexts at the institute including lunch and coffee breaks, language choice seemed to be less open to negotiation for the SA doctoral researchers. This reduced the possibility to speak and be listened to. The feelings of personal rejection for Cong were very painful for him, and a subject about which he spoke to me on several occasions. He viewed this not only as a barrier, but also a choice

on the part of the French-speaking doctoral researchers as they were capable of communicating in English. A low level of English for certain French-speakers coupled with variations in the level of English of the SA doctoral researchers reported by the supervisor Josephine may explain their reticence to communicate on subjects outside their discipline in English. This could also result in a lack of relaxed, friendly conversation between the two groups of doctoral researchers and ultimately the feelings of isolation described by Cong.

The success of Abelino, Carlitos and Chao's methods of communication such as miming, drawings or simply pointing, suggest that the French-speaking doctoral researchers did not consciously wish to create barriers. Importantly, there also seems to be an element of fun in their descriptions as they tried various tactics to negotiate meaning. This more relaxed and friendly contact between speakers, although limited, can only be positive, not only for communication and interaction, but also the individuals' identities.

4.4.3 Third space

Aspects that were explored by Calikoglu (2018) researching experiences of SA students include feelings of isolation, of being a foreigner as well as difficulties with the local language. Successful negotiation of language choice was an important element for reducing such barriers during study abroad. This leads to the individual achieving the right to speak, to be listened to and to be spoken to (Bourdieu, 1991; Block, 2007), essential in the construction of a positive identity for the SA doctoral researchers during their stay. Two concepts of third space were presented in the literature review. The first is the more traditional view of sharing a space over which neither has ownership (Whitchurch, 2006). This reflected the professional research context where ELF was frequently employed and where mutual communication and understanding between SA and French-speaking doctoral researchers seemed most commonly experienced and productive. In the second, Holliday (Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher, 2019a) put forward his understanding of third space. For him it is a moment when an individual steps away from any previous preconceptions, looking at the culture from a neutral position, to re-evaluate the culture. Chao unconsciously employed this concept, using opportunities to understand what a French person would appreciate from him in his communication, for example his use of French for e-mails, although he also used spoken French at every opportunity with French-speaking friends. His aim was to respect and follow the host culture by trying to place himself in the

position of the other speaker. He used various methods to achieve communication, ranging from technical solutions such as software, but also being prepared with pen and paper for more basic communication. Through these activities, he appeared to achieve better understanding of and access to the culture. Chao, Alex and Manon were the only SA doctoral researchers to speak about French-speaking friends. Alex also tried to adapt to the culture of the other speaker, with a '*natural choice of languages*', again moving into the third space described by Holliday (Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher, 2019a) by considering the other speaker. Chao and Alex both used this third space when attempting to understand what was expected from them in the target culture from the other speaker's point of view. This action appears to have been very positive for their membership of the speech community as neither reported any barriers to access.

The use of translanguaging also uses these two perceptions of third space, allowing the creation of a shared space between speakers, a space over which neither has ownership, or in which they are excluded as well as stepping back from their own culture to a neutral position.

4.4.4 Translanguaging and negotiation

Translanguaging within the institute allowed the SA doctoral researchers to hear French, starting the process of accessing the speech community without the barrier of having to maintain the conversation in French. The onus to create mutual understanding was also shared between speakers, facilitating participation in the community. Translanguaging was discussed by the supervisors Julie, Claudine and Diana and described by Koroush who was able to request it in his community of practice at the institute, attesting to his membership and participation in the group (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Through the choice of translanguaging, the supervisors showed sensitivity towards the SA doctoral researchers' linguistic challenges. The use of translanguaging with the supervisors was an effective form of communication, with no SA doctoral researcher reporting feelings of isolation in this context. In terms of access to communicative competences it was an effective tool, exposing the SA doctoral researcher to ICC and IA, with the possibility of a greater understanding of how the language was used whilst being explored within a safe environment. Time constraints often reduced the effectiveness of formal language learning, making this learning experience even more useful.

The choice of language use with supervisors was made by the SA doctoral researchers. However, this choice was flexible, negotiating their language use with the possibility of employing more French themselves if they wished. In addition, once assimilated the rate at which they employed French was a choice made by the doctoral researcher rather than by others for them. This showed the SA doctoral researcher that they had the right to speak and be listened to, with their contribution to the conversation being considered important, leading to a positive reconstruction of their identity and position of power within the community, discussed in the following chapter, section 5.2.1. In addition, translanguaging returned some measure of control back to the doctoral researchers, which at a period of challenges to their identity was likely to be very welcome, discussed in section 5.2.2 isolation, acceptance and identity.

4.4.5 Cultural awareness and respect

Language and intercultural negotiations need to be considered within the personal history of the individual (Günay, 2016). Political and cultural issues of power can also affect language choice within countries, a concept that had already affected certain SA doctoral researchers during their lives in their home countries. Both of these issues were involved in the construction of the identity of the individual, discussed in the following chapter. The issues of power and even social control that are inherent in the national language choices (Pavlenko, 2004) involved were illustrated by Koroush in his language negotiation in his home country, Iran. Although Koroush did not specifically use the word 'respect' when choosing a language to communicate at the institute, rather promoting the use of English professionally to enable communication with a wider audience, the choice of language in his home country affects the respect that individuals may, or may not enjoy. Languages are identity markers (Pavlenko, 2004) and for Koroush, rather than giving respect through his language choice in his home country, he gained respect through the use of Persian for studies and professional life in Iran, despite speaking Azerbaijani Turkish with his family. His language choice enabled him to negotiate his position within the academic world in Iran. Through this respect he also gained the right to speak, to be listened to and to be spoken to (Bourdieu, 1991; Block, 2007) and experienced being understood, respected and affirmatively valued (Ting-Toomey, 2005).

Caruana (2014) described the requirements to participate in another culture as self-confidence and a desire to explore the other culture through observation,

listening, intuition on which they then reflect, all shown by Chao. As a sign of respect he used French for e-mails to French-speakers in France viewing it not as a language learning experience for himself, but emphasised his respect for the other person, putting their perception of interaction first, looking to employ the relevant intercultural competences in the context. This attitude towards the interaction showed intercultural awareness and use of Holliday's perception of third space (Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher, 2019a) described previously. However, he was aware of certain limitations when communicating within the multilingual context he worked in, especially using spoken language, reflected in his choice of French or English depending on the other speakers involved. Chao also put forward another criterion for language choice, that of adapting to the other speaker if they were not French-speaking. He made the point that for some speakers of other languages, giving the example of Italian that they may communicate better in French than English. This choice was less linked to respect and made more in an effort to ease communication for the other speaker, reflecting Chao's sensitivity to this. This sensitivity was likely to be appreciated by the other speaker as the experiences reported by the SA doctoral researchers generally do not show this negotiation outside the professional context. Chao did not report suffering from communication barriers, remaining positive about his communication with others in France in various contexts as well as being willing to adapt. Carlitos, who also reported using software to check for language mistakes, interestingly gave very different reasons to Chao for using French and the available software for his e-mails. Carlitos concentrated on the advantages of the activity for himself, talking about the learning opportunity it offered, whereas Chao made the choice to show respect for the recipient of the e-mail. Through these actions they were both accepting to adapt to the recipient, although with different motivation. Carlitos was looking towards his own development, for Chao the choice was directed towards the other speaker. Considering these attitudes through the concepts of intercultural awareness showed a growing acquisition of *savoir* skills for both of the SA doctoral researchers. The desire for personal development through contact with the French culture showed Carlitos employing *savoir apprendre*. The use of *savoir comprendre* allowed Chao to understand and use his knowledge of the French culture to realise the importance of language choice in e-mails for the recipient. Moving towards the acquisition of these would allow them to use language more effectively and negotiate between cultures in this community of

practice. He also employed similar strategies socially, reporting working with the other speakers to build mutual understanding in various ways, for example through drawings. He did not report feelings of isolation, rather speaking about the contacts he had created.

Their attitude, or *savoir-être*, describing the attitudes of the individual towards the target culture, in this case French, led to a much greater interest in the culture. Their *savoir s'engager*, describing their cultural knowledge was another positive force to strengthen their position within the community. They showed a great awareness of the circumstances of others and understanding of themselves within the communities they encountered as well as their own function within that community. Through this intercultural awareness, employing both *savoir comprendre*, knowing how to understand the target culture and *savoir apprendre*, being able to learn from this understanding in their interactions, they were able to negotiate their participation in the community, through *savoir faire*, from a more powerful position. The attitude or *savoir être* they described in their interactions of moving towards others themselves and adapting to the other speakers, as well as the target culture, or cultures rather than taking a more passive approach was successful in terms of access to and participation in the French-speaking communities they encountered. Their choice of language and ability to negotiate its use had an impact on their possibility to negotiate their position within the target community.

4.4.6 Competences in English

The doctoral researchers, both SA and French-speaking required ELF for a certain amount of their work in the laboratory, although French could be a choice for interaction between colleagues. Despite using ELF professionally, they may not have the necessary vocabulary and structures employed in social English. The SA doctoral researchers found the interviews in English tiring, showing a long conversation on diverse, unfamiliar subjects in English may also be a challenge. As Josephine reported in her interview, the level of English for the SA doctoral researchers varies from excellent to very poor. This and the findings for cultural awareness offer a different perspective to Cong's perception that barriers were created by the French-speaking doctoral researchers. However, the level of French-speaking doctoral researchers' CCs in English at the institute in social situations was also questioned by Abelino in his interview. Abelino and Cong reported that they found the level of English for the French-speaking doctoral

researchers was low, posing the question as to whether the lack of social interaction was partly due to this. This perception of local students' low level in English has been reported in other research (Kalocsai, 2014).

Communication in English on a wide variety of possible topics, as opposed to the restricted professional use, may be limited by both the SA and French-speaking doctoral researchers' and even the supervisors' level of spoken English. All the SA doctoral researchers gave learning French as advice for potential SA doctoral researchers from their own country, indicating the importance of the barriers they faced in France outside the professional context both within the institute for social interaction and with the local population. To participate in everyday life, French was viewed as vital.

4.4.7 Speech communities

In France the Jacobin approach to membership of a community must be taken into account. The Jacobin position views a common language as not only necessary, but sufficient to create a nation as well as being central to national identity (Martin Rojo, 2017; Joseph, 2016), underlining linguistic unity within a community. Access to the French speech community is therefore vital if the SA doctoral researchers wish to integrate over a period of three years in France. The ease of communication could be negotiated, with Carlitos and Chao reporting miming or drawings to communicate. Abelino also employed other methods to negotiate meaning, rather than standing back from the speech community. He not only used his limited competences in French as a first positive move towards the speech community, but also hand movements to negotiate meaning. However, this type of communication is limited and may not be adapted to building long-term friendships and will not give total access to membership of the speech community, but may negotiate the first steps.

This concept could be interpreted as influencing the barriers experienced by the SA doctoral researchers during social interactions and may be linked to habitus for the French-speaking doctoral researchers, seen in the research by Zhang and Harzing (2016). These same barriers were reported in educational settings in non-English-speaking countries (Calikoglu; 2018; Nam, 2018). However, a real possibility of acceptable discrimination towards individuals as a result of their lack of the target language exists. The situation, reported by the supervisor Claudine supports this. Her description of a power struggle between French-speaking

technicians who refused to work in English and an Egyptian SA doctoral researcher who was unable to work in the laboratory or discuss her work in French was unique in my experience. Nevertheless, in this situation French law supported the technicians and the SA doctoral researcher was obliged by her colleagues to learn enough French to undertake experiments and discuss her results within the research group. Legislation made any language negotiation in this context impossible. Bourdieu (2000, p.186) described the impossibility for an individual to go against the law in this power struggle, with legislation on language choice being decisive.

'The form par excellence of the socially and officially recognised symbolic power of construction is the legal authority, law being the objectification of the dominant vision recognised as legitimate, or, to put in another way, of the legitimate vision of the world, the orthodoxy guaranteed by the State.'

As Bourdieu states here, the symbolic power of the law legitimised the demands of the technicians, leaving Claudine and the Egyptian SA doctoral researcher powerless in any attempt to negotiate language choice. Whilst this situation was not encountered by any of the participant SA doctoral researchers, it is interesting as it showed the reality of the fragility of their power, with any negotiation only possible with the acceptance of colleagues.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the findings of the data I collected from the SA doctoral researchers through questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, observations and e-mails for my research questions 1 and 2. I have also undertaken an analysis of these findings as well as discussing the data in relation to the literature review. The findings have shown distinct contexts with which the SA doctoral researchers are confronted that require different language use to participate in the communities, whilst presenting their own challenges and barriers. It is the structure of the communities that allow or block the use of certain languages. Access to the academic communities of practice, professionally at the institute and at the university during French classes is possible using ELF. However, access to the speech communities encountered in social interaction, both at the institute and more widely outside in the local population is through the use of French. In the following chapter I look at the impact these have on the identities of the SA doctoral researchers.

Chapter 5 Impacts of language use on the construction of identities

The identities constructed by the SA doctoral researchers during their stay in France varied from the privileged identities of international doctoral researchers undertaking commercially valuable research, to those of foreigners struggling to communicate with those around them. The gulf between these two extremes can be a painful experience for individual doctoral researchers and complex to negotiate. These findings are based on the reported experiences of SA doctoral researchers and the language they used to represent their experiences, rather than discourse analysis of exchanges. The findings are supported by additional discussions with their supervisors. Research question 3 explored this aspect of the multilingual context in which the SA doctoral researchers work and study for three years.

RQ.3 What are the implications of the use of English and French for the researchers' identities?

5.1.1 Overview

I present a short summary of the relevant research findings using different contexts encountered by the SA doctoral researchers shown in the diagram presented for research question 1.

1. Within the inner circle, as previously discussed, the professional context at the institute functioned as a community of practice to which the SA doctoral researchers have access and can participate in as legitimate participants. This gave them a more powerful position to negotiate within the community, combined with the social promotion from a student to a doctoral researcher (Webber, 2017; Ye and Edwards, 2017). Their identity within this context was that of a researcher and as a result, an identity that is constructed with others that would complement their previously constructed identities. This positive identity professionally brings with it identity security (Hotta and Ting-Toomey 2013) for the SA doctoral researcher.

2. The context represented by the middle circle is that of social interaction, for example during breaks. When leaving laboratories or offices they also left behind the research community of practice and consequently, their identity as a doctoral researcher within that community. They entered a speech community that used French to which they had to obtain access if they wished to participate. As previous shown, the level of access and participation achieved in this community was highly variable, but had a great impact on their identity. The identity negotiation theory (INT) put forward by Ting-Toomey (2005) argues that most individuals appreciate friendships and close relationships which require access and participation within the speech community to achieve. The impact of this barrier in a country where they did not have a previous social network for support could create feelings of isolation. Social isolation and subsequent identity differentiation in this context may have impacted more negatively as members of this speech community were the same individuals who participated with the SA doctoral researcher in the research community of practice.
3. The outer circle, the local area and population, presented a new environment for the SA doctoral researchers with varying results. INT argues that SA doctoral researchers were likely to undergo identity transformation in this unfamiliar cultural environment. In addition, within this context there was a possibility of positioning, through ideological subjectivity using dominant ideologically accepted values (Canagarajah, 2004) as an immigrant worker and encountering the difficulties associated with this community.

5.1.2 Identities within the institute

As presented in the previous chapter, the acceptance of the use of English varied between contexts. It was acceptable as a lingua franca in professional contexts, and even required for certain activities, such as reading articles or collaborating with colleagues abroad. Within this professional context, which functions as a community of practice, SA doctoral researchers enjoyed the identities of international scientists.

Abelino: Yeah, uh, I feel free to use English here because science today, the language of science is English. If you need to publish your work, it's in English. If you needed to make a conference, it's in English. So I don't fear to use English

every time inside a research institute because, the language of science today is English, so it's OK. (1)

The use of English as a student, prior to starting PhD studies in a non-English-speaking country can be limited for scientific English, described by Carlitos.

Carlitos: I think I never had a specific study of er, scientific English, but when I went to a college, the articles started to come, and I had to, to learn also, but it was on my own I think. (2)

This research has shown that there was an increase, especially studying abroad, in the use of English needed for professional communication and the reconstruction of individuals' identities as they move towards becoming researchers. Cong, who experienced challenges to his identities during social interaction, or rather lack of it, with French-speaking doctoral researchers, reported no barriers to speaking English in professional contexts.

Cong: They have to, they have to speak English with you because that's work. Er, yeah for work for the experiment it's, it's OK, it's OK. (2)

Being able to communicate in English was viewed as an extremely positive attribute by Cong and the other SA doctoral researchers, contributing to their identity security.

Cong: And that will improve your English and that will be very interesting and I think that will be a, an advantage for use, speaking and learning English. (2)

Carlitos was more confident of being understood in English and included this community of practice, having a positive effect on his identities. This extended further than just his competences in English, encompassing his knowledge of science, his position of having been selected by a supervisor in his home country and being accepted by the institute in France to undertake a PhD abroad.

Carlitos: I think it, it was not me! It was the, the opportunity that I had. I never imagined coming here before, but there was a, how do you say that, internship?

Int: uh hum (agreeing)

Carlitos: And my supervisor offered me, so I thought that could be cool and I decided to come. (2)

Despite the professional need to communicate in English, he was also interested in communicating more in French and developing his identities as a French speaker, even more important outside his professional context.

Carlitos: But I think the, the main language would be English when I want to be sure that, I understand something and that people understand me, but I, I try to use French, to learn. (1)

Despite this interest in developing his identities through the use of French and his personal interest in exchanging with French-speakers, he did not report exploring political or cultural aspects of French life to achieve this. However, Carlitos remained positive about language learning in French and spoke about the 'fun' of being able to communicate in French.

Carlitos: I think er the communication is really great fun when you can say something that people can understand. It's good, a good feeling. But as well the, - the learning by itself is a good motivation. (3)

As previously discussed, French was reported by the SA doctoral researchers as being the language of communication for French-speaking doctoral researchers for social interaction at the institute. This was a practice that limited participation for most of the SA doctoral researchers and so impacted on their identities. This lack of social interaction with SA doctoral researchers was also reported by the supervisors, with both situations potentially excluding the SA doctoral researchers with negative implications for their identities.

Int: Does anything change in your working relationship with doctoral researchers because of the language you use together, maybe linked to your own anecdote?

Julie: I feel inclined to say, almost. If it's in English, it will be more professional as the possibilities for our discussion outside this area are limited. In actual fact somewhere along the line we are going to be more on ... a lot on work, professional subjects, I mean they will perhaps be less discussion around other things rather than -

Int: OK, so you might find there's a bigger distance between you?

Julie: maybe not distance, but at least less opportunity to - exchange on other subjects. (my translation)

No interviews were undertaken with French-speaking doctoral researchers, although this social distance was reported by Abelino.

Abelino: So, it's not boring, it's not a real problem, but sometimes you feel that you are, how can I say, err messy, like you are in a different place, that you are not with the others together. (2)

Cong tried to organise activities outside study and work, for example football matches against a team of American doctoral researchers, but with no success.

Cong: I have tried to inw, inviting them to play football with us because I like playing football. But they didn't, they, they, they didn't go. (2)

Cong organised a team of Chinese doctoral researchers, but was unable to persuade the Americans to play, resulting in further feelings of exclusion with very negative consequences for his personal identities. His frustration at this situation as well as sadness and isolation came across clearly. In addition, to this disappointment, he questioned French-speakers' desire to communicate in English, describing a great reticence on their part refusing to use English unless forced.

Cong: Erm, no I'm sorry, I think in France don't like speak English. I think they only speak English when they have to speak English you know. Just like I can't speak French, they, they speak French I don't understand so they have to speak English to me so... and I think in our lab just a few persons, a few of them can speak English well. And most of them also poor English. (1)

This comment highlights the possibility of missed opportunities for members of the research group, including Cong, to improve their ability to communicate in another language. What he described was more a tug of war between speakers to impose their choice of language in the context, rather than negotiation. He reported however, that many Chinese doctoral researchers would be willing to accept this situation to have the opportunity to study abroad.

Cong: Because, most of the Chinese will, students want go, to go abroad. They want to - most part for the research, for researching for their sciences, so this is the most part for them. So if this, for the scientific part is good for them, they will ignore the others. (2)

Other than Cong, the SA doctoral researchers reported actively using their network of colleagues in various ways within the institute to assist them negotiating between English and French. Despite this assistance though, no one reported assisting others with English, despite reporting barriers to social English

for French-speaking doctoral researchers, or for Abelino, their unwillingness to use English.

Abelino: I think that the reason, could be, because the French or don't like or don't want, or I don't know, to speak English. (2)

Carlitos and Chao reported using French as much as possible, although they described different motivations for using French which reflected on their identities in these contexts. Carlitos reported that he enjoyed the learning opportunities for himself, whereas Chao reported making the choice out of respect for the other speaker. Respect was also behind the choice for Alex, who like Chao and Carlitos did not report feelings of isolation during the interviews. However, interestingly, in the e-mail he sent me about advice for students or doctoral researchers coming to France from their home countries, Alex replied:

if this is a future student that comes for few years, I will advice [sic] to learn French,

if this is a young doctoral researcher that comes for years of work, I will advice [sic] him to think twice before leave his friends and family.

I was surprised by this comment as in addition to not reporting feelings of isolation, he spoke about his contacts here including his girlfriend. Discussing this comment later, he replied that the price he paid leaving his country was higher than expected. During his interviews however, he reported listening Russian to help him relax and fall asleep, promoting identity emotional security (Tong-Toomey, 2005).

Alex: No, only in Russian, it's to, to fall asleep, so I start to watch in Russian, but not to watch it, just to relax. (2)

Home languages were not widely used at the institute and despite informal language learning of French, none of the SA doctoral researchers reported assisting colleagues with their own home languages or even English. Their home languages professionally were likely to be of limited use for other researchers, although ELF was a professional competence they all needed. As language learning was not reciprocal, there was a risk of an imbalance in the power within relationships with French-speaking colleagues. As a result, SA doctoral researchers may be pushed into a dependent position, rather than participating in an exchange. Outside the immediate work environment at the institute, little effort was made by French-speaking doctoral researchers to help them develop their CCs in French. The onus to communicate was on the SA doctoral researchers in

contexts outside the work environment at the institute to achieve mutual understanding as well as taking responsibility for continuing the flow of information and conversation even if they have a limited command of the language (Block, 2007). Cong spoke about the breaks at the institute.

Cong: Not, not, this situation is not - just for the Chinese. We, in our laboratory, we also there is also are India and Italian. We, we have the same situation. We can't get on with them, we can't - join them. (1)

Abelino reported similar barriers during social interactions with French-speaking colleagues outside the institute meeting socially in town.

Abelino: [Yes - yes, yes]. For example, the Brazilian group and the French group and sometimes we are together, but looks like we are not completely together. (2)

Abelino's comment shows the deep divides between the two groups, noticeable even to outside observers. The feelings of social isolation the SA doctoral researchers reported were confirmed by the supervisors. Josephine commented,

Josephine: Personally I think it does change things. I think the relationship is not the same. Euh - if - if - euh - myself even if I speak English very well euh - I can't interact with someone as closely if the person doesn't speak French which I prefer - it's more difficult to comfort someone when we don't speak the same language euh - we are not - in a professional relationship, there is no friendship! The language is important. (my translation).

This was also reported by other supervisors.

Claudine: Euh, maybe it creates a barrier to human warmth, with what we share, with - we share fewer feelings, experiences we don't joke so much as, euh we don't know how it will be taken knowing that it's neither our language nor theirs. (my translation)

Julie: I feel inclined to say, almost. If it's in English, it will be more professional as the possibilities for our discussion outside this area are limited. (my translation)

Supervisors should be aware that their relationship with a doctoral researcher has been shown to be important to the doctoral researcher's well-being (Due et al., 2015). The research undertaken by Due et al. (2015) explored the experience of students and SA doctoral researchers in an English-speaking country, Australia. The increase in potential language choices available in my research context may have increased the barriers between supervisor and SA doctoral researcher.

Julie: maybe not distance, but at least less opportunity to - exchange on other subjects. (my translation)

Yann reported barriers existing between researchers generally using ELF.

Yann: Because when you get out of er, formal communication and professional communication in the frame of the congress and you go to a social event and you stop talking about some other, your family or whatever, or the weather, and then I noticed that we sometimes don't realise that we use really familiar words or swear words even -

Barriers may also arise with the use of other languages. Matteo, an Italian-speaking supervisor, described being more detached when he began using French, unable to communicate using the language less formally.

Matteo: so I was very formal. Very, I don't know, cold with people because it was not my character,

In Italian he had the possibility of two languages, Italian and Neapolitan which also influenced formality.

Matteo: Yes! (said with great feeling) Of course! If I invite a student to eat a pizza, I use Neapolitan.

Six of the SA doctoral researchers reported communicating better in English than French. Manon reported having a better level in French than English still reported finding communication in a social group more complex if other SA doctoral researchers were present who did not speak French.

Manon: Because I don't speak English and I speak French and for me it's more easier, but now it's complicated because A don't speak French and it's more easier for us speak un language common - [sic] (1)

Manon raised the important point that not all SA doctoral researchers had the competences in French to communicate during a discussion. Despite this possibility of language barriers, the use of French was unexpected by the SA doctoral researchers with only Carlitos studying French before he came, albeit for a relatively short time before arriving in France.

Carlitos: Yes and so when I knew that I would come I decided I should learn French as well to try to minimize the difficulties! Er and I have studied French for about one year.

Int: Ah, in Brazil before you came?

Carlitos: No, I think it is one year now, but in Brazil, seven months. Six or seven months. (2)

Once in the country the SA doctoral researchers had limited time to invest in learning French due to their workload. Four of the SA doctoral researchers reported that these time barriers had a negative effect on improving their level in French with the resulting personal consequences having a negative impact on their identities. In an e-mail, after the interviews I asked what advice they would offer to potential SA doctoral researchers from their own countries, the full replies are presented in appendix E (p.232). I asked this question in an e-mail to allow them to consider their answer in more depth before replying. They all advised studying French before arriving in France, as the stay here would be far more difficult without the necessary CCs in French. Manon replied that English would not suffice to live and work in France for three years.

I would say that France is an excellent country to live and work in,

but even with a good level of English it is imperative to learn to speak French to get here

because on a daily basis, outside the work environment there is a communication difficulty.

Manon

Abelino agreed that French was necessary, admitting that he had not been prepared.

Sure! I could advice [sic] him/her to study French and a little about the French culture before. Two things that I didn't. :p

Abelino

Koroush went further, advising doctoral researchers to study in English-speaking countries rather than France, or to study French prior to arriving if there was no option other than to come to France.

First of all, I would recommend researchers from Iran to try their chance in English speaking countries! Otherwise, attend French courses at least 1 year before coming to France.

Alex also suggested thinking carefully about a move to France. Chao encouraged others to learn French to participate fully in their research group. However, Chao also commented on the need for successful language competences in any language.

1. To be fully involved in the investigation, speak French is crucial.

2. *To learn French, one solution is to make French friends or keep listening to French radio or watch the French video. Repeat as much as possible.*

3. *Presentation skill is very important, no matter you speak French or Chinese or English*

Despite the frequent need for French in the various communities the SA doctoral researchers encountered in France both inside and outside the institute, hierarchy and the individual's established identities within the community allowed barriers for social interaction to be more flexible. Matteo, the supervisor from Italy reported that when he was present during breaks his colleagues would speak English as he did not understand French.

Matteo: they tried to speak French with me. But since I didn't know French, each time, even at table, at lunch when we were discussing with other colleagues, I started talking in English so it was my way to ask them -

Int: Ah OK.

Matteo: to speak English with me, even if they wanted probably to speak French because they were, I don't know, six French, one Italian and one from Morocco and they say OK.

His identities as an experienced, qualified researcher allowed him to use his power within the community in this context, not just professionally, contrasting with Cong's reported isolation in a similar context. The issues of power for the SA doctoral researchers in this context were modified, as they had less social capital than Matteo. Feelings of rejection and challenges to identities they had built in the professional context were experienced resulting in painful and awkward situations. When questioned in this context, Cong replied:

Cong: Kind of embarrassed. You can see we just stand there. If we want to talk with each other we just speak with the person who is speaking English, who speaks English, just like Italian, India. Just like a table, and everyone sit around this table and you can see just our, me or the India, or the Italian, we stay close to the wall, stand up longer. It's really, you can feel a little embarrassed. Yes, it's not good, here it's not good. (1)

This context took place with the same individuals who had been sharing an office or laboratory with the SA doctoral researcher prior to the coffee break. Cong did not report the same isolation in the professional environment despite reporting French-speaking doctoral researchers only using English when they were obliged to. His comments were echoed by Abelino when discussing evenings out with French-speaking doctoral researchers.

Abelino: you are in a different place, that you are not with the others together and I think that the reason, could be, because the French or don't like or don't want, or I don't know, to speak English, and you feel it necessary to speak French and they close them, I think that is - the answer for that. (2)

The issues of power surrounding these situations were imposed on the SA doctoral researchers, being unable to communicate effectively in French. This left them feeling powerless, isolated and frustrated, unable to negotiate or gain any form of membership to the community. This was a barrier they encountered at other moments outside their professional environment, as despite having developed CCs in several languages, these were not always sufficient to communicate in all contexts outside the institute successfully.

5.1.3 Identities outside the institute

Once outside the institute the SA doctoral researchers all reported that French was imposed, presenting a new language context for them. From their reported experiences, the use of French outside the institute had repercussions on their identities, often being positioned as migrants. The SA doctoral researchers were considered as very effective and successful communicators in their home countries. The barriers they encountered in France were therefore often unexpected and frustrating for the SA doctoral researchers when they arrived. They had believed that ELF was sufficient for their stay, shown by their advice to potential researchers considering coming to France. An illustration of the reactions they may face was a situation encountered by Koroush in Paris due to his level of CCs in French.

Koroush: Yes, a lot of problems, a lot of problems. It is very frustrating for me. Erm, my example is, just two days ago, (laughs) we went to Paris, but because we didn't understand how the French system works and we didn't know the language, so we had to pay 70€, by fine? What's it called? (3)

In this situation Koroush's inability to understand 'how the French system works' left him powerless with the French ticket inspectors and the watching public forcing him into the identity of an outsider. He was positioned as a foreigner who had tried to cheat the system by not paying for the appropriate ticket. Koroush had already been in the position of an outsider through his use of Azerbaijani Turkish, his family's home language in his own country of Iran, but was able to negotiate group membership and construct identities for himself through the use of Persian. He was also able to negotiate his position successfully within the workplace in France with the identities of a doctoral researcher. However, this was denied him in Paris

and was a recurrent barrier during his experiences in France outside the institute. As a result, this was an aspect of his stay that he found very painful and difficult to accept. His identities were imposed by the other actors in the context, with the inability to negotiate membership producing a feeling of powerlessness and isolation for Koroush.

Koroush: because of the train ticket. It was, it is just an example. In first days that we were here it was very, very difficult for me. I couldn't understand anything. And even now it is not easy to communicate with people. (3)

He spoke about the assistance he was given by French-speaking colleagues when he had difficulties with the particle size analysis at the institute which is doubtless more complex than a ticket on the metro in Paris.

Koroush: = Yes, I had problems with the particle size analysis. The protocol was in French, I had problems with, er, some other stuff like electrophoresis. All those protocols were in French and it was my first time that I wanted to do them. So it was very difficult, but as I told, the colleagues helped me a lot, quickly and efficiently, so, I didn't have much difficult. It was a bit confusing. But because of their help I didn't have, you know, a great problem. (1)

It is clear from his description that his colleagues were very happy to assist him, and must have taken the necessary time with him, as he described the process as 'confusing', which he overcame with their help as a result of his negotiated membership of the community of practice. In contrast to his identities outside the institute, he had 'feelings of being understood, respected and affirmatively valued' within the community (Ting-Toomey, 2005), confirming his identities in the research community. However, during his experience in Paris he was stigmatised as a foreigner who was unable to communicate successfully, with no power to co-construct his identity in the situation, experiencing what Ting-Toomey (2005) described as identity emotional vulnerability. The loss in Paris of identities he enjoyed within his community of practice made the frustration of his powerlessness more acute and can be felt quite strongly in his comments.

The choice of French for communication was also imposed by other speakers outside the establishment on the other SA doctoral researchers, with a corresponding loss of their identities as a well-educated individual.

Carlitos: No outside of (name of the institute) it's impossible, it has to be French! (1)

Even when speaking to others who must have studied English for their own qualifications in France, such as sales personnel or medical doctors, French was imposed. Two situations were described by Abelino that he encountered when he first arrived in France.

Abelino: Yeah, hmm that was really difficult and I just needed to – er, OK, yes. When I needed to buy a number of the cell phone, no one speak English and also my first medical consultation, the doctor don't speak anything about English and she needed make me questions, and I couldn't answer anything! (laughs) Was hard these two situations. (1)

Three of the SA doctoral researchers who did not report the barriers experienced by others were Carlitos, Alex and Chao. Carlitos, who had studied French for seven months before arriving in France, remained positive about his communication, adapting methods of communicating if necessary. He appeared to maintain the right to speak and be listened to (Block, 2007).

Carlitos: but when I have just, everyday problems, normally it's just me, and I use a lot of mimics!

Carlitos: [I try to change the words], and say another way.

Carlitos: But I think I didn't have big problems. (1)

Alex did not feel inhibited when using other languages, taking the view that the communication was more important than precise vocabulary or grammatical perfection.

Alex: I don't have this shame of not er writing something correct because I believe the subject is more important than, than dressing, yeah, of the message, yes, the message is more important. (1)

Chao and Alex who reported investing more in CCs in French than the other SA doctoral researchers were interested in staying in France following their PhD and developing positive identities within the French-speaking community.

Chao: maybe I will speak French with my friends. Yeah, they are foreigner friends (1)

Alex: French with my French girlfriend (1)

They had different motivations for their decision to stay in France, reflected in different attitudes towards their integration into French society. Alex admitted to making a conscious decision to leave the Ukraine, although he did not discuss his underlying reasons in any detail.

Alex : I was really - but it's not a good story. It is not about language. (2)

Despite his decision to leave Ukraine and having a French-speaking girlfriend, Alex still found Russian relaxing and reported watching films only in Russian. He listened to the films to hear Russian spoken and help him fall asleep, returning to a safe house (Canagarajah, 1997) very much within his own personal space.

Alex: No, only in Russian, it's to, to fall asleep, so I start to watch in Russian, but not to watch it, just to relax. (2)

Chao was able to speak Mandarin Chinese at home with his wife and did not report listening to Mandarin. He reported contacting family and friends in China less frequently than many SA doctoral researchers.

Chao: Relatives, relatives, relatives, OK. For me, for example, I make a phone call, or video meeting with my parents, once or twice per month. (1)

When we started the interviews, Chao had been planning to stay and work in France and was later able to find a research contract in Paris following his PhD. He appreciated being able to speak more French in his new position, allowing him greater access to French culture, reinforcing his identities within the French-speaking community.

Chao: It's not obligatory for me to write any article in English anymore, so I have chance to speak French as much as I like. (3)

Abelino's comment however, was a common experience

Abelino: but outside, umm, I not have French friends that they are from French (3)

A lack of personal friends over a period of three years can lead to feelings of isolation (Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014) and be extremely negative experience for the individual. In the contexts in figure 2, a possible escape is the virtual context accessed through messaging services, although it was not explored in depth. All the SA doctoral researchers reported using technology to contact friends and family in their home countries, allowing them to reconstruct their identities from their home countries through these contacts.

5.2 Discussion

5.2.1 Within the institute

The use of English for the SA doctoral researchers has repercussions for their identity. Kinginger (2004) makes the interesting point that language learning for academic reasons impacts differently on the identity of the user to language

learning as a migrant. The social capital that can be gained from being able to communicate in a language also varies. English, or any other language spoken as part of an academic identity, will afford greater social capital than a migrant speaker for whom it is their home language (Kinging, 2004). The use of ELF by the SA doctoral researchers could be considered as a social practice within a community of practice and learnt for academic reasons, allowing greater social capital through access and participation as an international researcher in this context (Kinging, 2004). Moreover, the use of ELF in a non-English-speaking country afforded specific identities bringing with it further capital from having been accepted for a doctoral research position in France. This was in addition to the social capital from their position that the SA doctoral researchers would have enjoyed in their home countries.

As discussed by Ye and Edwards (2017), there is a positive move from being a student to a doctoral researcher, a position that is paid and viewed by the doctoral researchers at the institute as a first job. Access and participation within the community of practice of international research was also likely to be achieved more rapidly than within the wider speech community in their host countries, as they were already accepted as scientists. This view of the two different types of community for English, that of a practice community and French as a speech community that the SA doctoral researchers need to access, allows a better understanding of their identities within these communities. Their scientific knowledge afforded inclusion within the community of practice, and so feelings of security, increasing the positive view of their identities within that community. However, their lack of access and participation in the French speech community could lead to what is described by Ting-Toomey (2005) as identity emotional vulnerability. At the beginning of their stay, they were unfamiliar with the language and culture with six out of seven not having studied French at all. As a result, they were unable to negotiate their position and identities in this community and consequently experienced less identity security within the French speech community (Ting-Toomey, 2005). These feelings, coupled with a lack of time to invest in developing language competences were likely to lead to greater isolation, impacting negatively on their identities, as can be seen through Cong's experience.

Considering identities through the different communities the SA doctoral researchers tried to access also allowed a better understanding of why barriers

could be experienced in certain contexts and not others by the SA doctoral researchers, interacting with the same individuals and within the same establishment. The barriers for social interaction were potentially higher at the outset with the lack of French studies before arriving. Furthermore the identities they were able to construct through participation in their community of practice were not limited to France at the institute, but were global as international researchers, able to collaborate and create networks internationally. In addition, higher education generally has been shown to be empowering and change self-perception, with doctoral studies further increasing self-esteem and confidence (Webber, 2017). Both the local and global identities the SA doctoral researchers were able to construct in this context complemented their previously constructed identities, rather than challenging them as may have been the case for their identities as migrant language learners outside the community of practice.

However, during social interaction within the institute, the SA doctoral researchers could be positioned as newcomers to the practice community with limited experience of research, in contrast to the supervisors. As such they did not benefit from any advantages resulting from their position in the hierarchy. Again, this rejection of the membership and increased isolation would have a negative impact on their identity (Ting-Toomey, 2005) and ultimately, their well-being (Due et al, 2015). The lack of power they had in their position was underlined by Matteo, the supervisor from Italy who, unlike the SA doctoral researchers, found his colleagues spoke English when he was present during social interaction at the institute. Matteo took the initiative to learn French, but felt under no pressure from his colleagues not to speak English. Rather than putting the onus on Matteo as a migrant, they accepted to take responsibility for the communication. Whilst this is outside the boundaries of this research, it is interesting to note the negotiation of language choice in this context compared to that reported by the SA doctoral researchers.

5.2.2 Isolation, acceptance and identities

Language use gives the power to unite or divide individuals or communities (Pavlenko, 2004). The impact on identities from this can be a challenging and potentially painful experience for SA doctoral researchers during their stay abroad. Until challenged by another set of values or beliefs, cultural features are often accepted, even by the person themselves, as being a fundamental part of an individual's identities (Günay, 2016). Before arriving the potential impact on their

identities during study abroad was not contemplated by the SA doctoral researchers, although they had all considered the international setting. Their acceptance by others in this context, with access to the international research community achieved through their status as SA doctoral researchers, impacted on the negotiation of their identity professionally. Kalocsai (2014) describes the use of ELF as encouraging negotiation and mutual support. This particular community was a supportive and accepting environment, with no SA doctoral researchers reporting any barriers in this context. The possibility to speak ELF if they wished assisted in their participation and well-being.

5.2.2.1 The use of French

An important finding from this research was the feelings of isolation some SA doctoral researchers experienced during their three years in France as interactions in a professional context did not replace a social life. The balance of power is against SA doctoral researchers in social contexts. They are unable to exercise power in this situation as a result of their level in French and knowledge of social interactions, with communication potentially being controlled by French-speakers who are more proficient in both (Kinging, 2015; Pavlenko, 2004). The lack of these competences does not allow them to reposition themselves effectively in the group to negotiate their identity (Barkhuizen, 2017; Bhatia, 2011; Norton, 1995). The SA doctoral researchers in this study encounter unfamiliar environments and languages to negotiate both as a neophytes in international research and as newcomers to the country. Cong may have chosen to refuse to use French to preserve his personal self-image (Pellegrino, 2005), however, his feelings of exclusion once outside the professional research community and an inability to create friendships in France impacted very negatively on his identities, creating greater reliance on his Chinese-speaking network (Kinging, 2015). A core assumption from INT is that individuals want to form close relationships and forming these with people from other cultures can lead to a higher level of emotional security for individuals and feelings of greater trust in others from different cultures (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Manon, Chao and Alex spoke of having French-speaking friends. All three tried to use French at the institute and outside with the local population, supporting the notion from Sawir et al. (2008) that a lack of effective language skills increased isolation. Günay's (2016) describes intercultural competence as being able to function successfully within different cultural settings, which can be seen with Manon. Despite not reporting observing

or adopting intercultural competences directly, she communicated on subjects other than science using French in various contexts with others at the institute, moving towards French-speakers which led to more satisfactory identity negotiation (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Chao and Alex had also negotiated their identities within the social context at the institute and the community outside the establishment more successfully than other SA doctoral researchers. The acceptance that they enjoyed within the speech community, for social interaction at the institute, impacted positively on their identities as a result of the feelings of inclusion that they experienced. Viewing their identities from the perspective of INT, this acceptance should increase their desire for membership and corresponding *savoir être*, and further increasing their participation. In addition, their interest in *savoir faire*, allowing them to communicate effectively and appropriately with French-speakers, should assist further in successful identity negotiation (Ting-Toomey, 2005).

Whilst Carlitos and Abelino did not report such strong feelings of isolation as Cong, all three reported the fact that they did not have French-speaking friends. This was despite efforts on their part to create contacts, for example the football match that Cong attempted to organise. Carlitos attempted to use French as much as possible, and was the only SA doctoral researcher to have studied any French before arriving. He attempted communication in French first within a professional context, but did not report using French socially. His use of French was not sufficient to create friendships at the point in his studies when the interview took place. He was however interested in creating contacts using French, shown by a request from him and Abelino that I organise an evening in the centre of town for drinks with a French-speaker, an evening that was appreciated by all three.

The feelings of isolation reported in this research are also not uncommon for international students even in English-speaking countries (Due et al., 2015; Caruana, 2014). Over a three year period this can become extremely negative for the individual, potentially greater for doctoral researchers due to the nature of the studies, with few group classes. For Ting-Toomey (2005), a lack of close friendships in the target culture may produce emotional insecurity for the SA doctoral researchers and less trust in others from that culture, especially over a prolonged period. Unfortunately, any rejection felt by the individual from the community may lead to further exclusion and distancing from the target community through these feelings of emotional insecurity and distrust. From his comments,

Cong suffered feelings of emotional insecurity and distrust. He was the only SA doctoral researcher to refuse to learn French once in France. The SA researchers admitted being unprepared for the barriers from not speaking French and with the exception of Carlitos had studied it before arriving in France. Despite advising learning some French, Cong believed that the interest for Chinese doctoral researchers to study abroad means that the social contacts or lack of them would be of secondary importance. Research from Due et al. (2015) supports Cong's point of view, arguing that it should not be assumed that all study abroad students or researchers are interested in building friendships or learning about the local culture, and may possibly only be present in the host country for academic reasons. For other individuals social contact with local workers or students may be an aim during their study abroad. Regrettably these expectations may be left unfulfilled as social contact with members of the local population is unfortunately not assured by the fact of working or studying in the country (Nam, 2018; Kalocsai, 2014) and was a common barrier for the SA doctoral researchers in this research.

Cong's experience during social interaction at the institute impacted negatively on his identity, increasing his feelings of isolation and exclusion. Cong viewed the use of French by the French-speaking doctoral researchers during breaks as blocking communication and excluding him. His perception of the situation was that negotiation of language choice in this context was impossible, although he did not seem to consider his refusal to use French as an equal block to negotiation. There was an expectation that the potential choices in the community of practice would extend outside the professional context. Abelino took a similar view of the use of French between French-speaking doctoral researchers during social trips into the town centre. Despite not feeling as isolated as Cong, Abelino's participation with French-speaking doctoral researchers was unsatisfactory for him. Group membership identities can be considered as being created through '*symbolic communication with others*' (Ting-Toomey, 2005 p.218). In this situation, the feelings of barriers from a lack of communication can be understandable perceived as rejection. This lack of inclusion affects individuals' well-being and impacts negatively on identity (Ting-Toomey, 2005).

Sadly, this situation was a very negative experience for the SA doctoral researchers concerned, Abelino, Carlitos, Cong and Koroush. However, the motivation to integrate into French society plays a pivotal role in the success of developing CCs in French. All the SA doctoral researchers had a professional

motivation for CCs in ELF to access and negotiate their identities as international researchers. Access to this identity and the community of practice as well as membership of that community were more attainable with their academic status from their home countries. The use of ELF also allowed them equal status with French-speaking doctoral researchers, reducing anxiety over their level of English, which may be heightened if they were studying in an English-speaking country (Due et al., 2015). The barriers experienced when speaking for a longer period for the SA doctoral researchers, with the exception of Koroush, showed that their level may have created barriers in an English-speaking country. Although each SA doctoral researcher had a unique experience during their stay, the lack of social contacts with the local French-speaking doctoral researchers was a recurrent theme. To resume, the SA doctoral researchers were caught between two languages. ELF offered membership to their professional context, whilst French offered access to, and participation in social contexts. As discussed by Pavlenko, the debate surrounding languages and their use are really about *'moral superiority, citizenship, belonging, and political and social status quo'* (Pavlenko, 2012), concepts that seem highly relevant to this study.

5.2.2.2 The exclusive use of English

Due et al. (2015) showed that the relationship between supervisor and doctoral researcher is an important factor in the well-being of the doctoral researcher. In this research the exclusive use of English by SA doctoral researchers was reported by French-speaking supervisors as creating barriers to their relationship with SA doctoral researchers. Language can also intensify barriers, identified through the research undertaken by Winchester-Seeto et al. (2014). Kalocsai (2014) also reported barriers to creating friendships with individuals from the local community in her study of Erasmus students in Hungary. The inability to make effective language choices in social contexts in French by the SA doctoral researchers contributed to fewer friendships with French-speaking doctoral researchers, possibly experiencing similar barriers to the supervisor Matteo when attempting to communicate in French. His inability to manipulate the language successfully socially created greater distance than he wished. In addition, the requirements for ELF in professional interactions are not those to communicate socially, for example, the supervisor Yann spoke of a lack of certain social vocabulary in English, leading to barriers in social contexts. This may also be true

for doctoral researchers, reducing their effectiveness as communicators in English and associated power and social capital.

5.2.2.3 Safe houses

To counteract this loss of power and social capital, messaging services and social media were accessed by the SA doctoral researchers. Through the use of messaging services and virtual communities the SA doctoral researchers were able to return to a culturally familiar environment and experience greater emotional security (Ting-Toomey, 2005), potentially lacking in certain areas of their lives in France. The use of digital media however, could be a positive or negative factor for the integration of the SA doctoral researchers. This possibility for contact and support from home was seen by Martínez-Arbelaiz et al (2017) and Mikal (2011) as delaying and decreasing the need for interaction with the local population and was identified as a cause of reduced language competences in the host country language, contrary to participants in this study with Cong using it less than Manon. For Nam (2018), this view of language learning assumes that greater language learning takes place through contact with the local population for example the contact Alex was able to benefit from through his girlfriend. Nam (2018) and Kalocsai (2014) both saw the inability to access communities in the local population as a possible vicious circle, again reflecting Cong's experience.

The 'elastic' nature of identities described by Byram (1997) is extremely demanding, requiring deconstruction and reconstruction of identities. Manon maintained regular contact in the host country with individuals from home through messaging. For Hernández (2018) this reduces the impact of the reconstruction of identities with the contact allowing communication in a more familiar way, using language and cultural practices from their home country and promoting identity security. The theory of safe houses (Canagarajah, 1997) more closely describes Abelino experience. Portuguese allowed him time to step back from the multilingual context that he experienced on a daily basis, allowing a pause in negotiating his position in unknown cultures. He then felt able to return and interact with others in the target languages and cultures. Through the theory of safe houses Canagarajah (1997) argues that individuals need this contact to continue to adapt to their new environments. This can be seen with Alex, who used more French than most, but reported listening to Russian to relax and fall asleep. This was mirrored by Manon's use of the word 'comfort' to describe her feelings of speaking in Portuguese despite wishing to speak in French as much as

possible. Adapting to new cultures and developing the required ICCs was not an easy task. From their comments Abelino, Alex and Manon reported appreciating the possibility of returning to their own language and culture, or 'safe house', allowing them to continue in the new communities they had encountered in France and as a result, were able to adopt the required identities in these target communities.

The wish to return momentarily to home languages and cultures did not mean a rejection of French. Manon's comment '*really bad for my language*' showed a desire to continue with French but she enjoyed a short break in which she experienced '*comfort*'. Manon and Alex spoke only French with their supervisors, although the others used ELF and some French with colleagues. Translanguaging, discussed by the supervisors and described by SA doctoral researchers, may reduce the impact on identity, with a certain measure of control being returned to the speaker.

5.2.3 Translanguaging and identity

During interviews, the supervisors spoke of their awareness of the need for SA doctoral researchers to learn some French during their stay. Consequently, they often encouraged translanguaging, the use of two languages, English for the SA doctoral researcher and French for the supervisor in the same conversation. This use of two languages allowed the use of ELF, reinforcing their identities as international researchers, with greater control over their positioning within the community of practice. This situation of positive identity security may lead to more interaction with others at the institute, within the community of practice, as well as outside the establishment (Hotta and Ting-Toomey 2013). The use of these dual language conversations allowed the SA doctoral researcher to exercise the right to speak and be listened to (Bourdieu, 1991; Block, 2007), with their contribution to the conversation being considered important. Their choice of language, or the mix they used, may have changed over time although the SA doctoral researchers remained in control, allowing them in this context to negotiate their language choice, a concept that remained flexible, with isolation not being reported in this context. The solution of selecting the language they spoke in interactions with others produced a more equal context for the participants present as the issues of power in the context had been altered, allowing more of the linguistic capital of individuals to be utilised. Issues of power within the community of practice can

also be negotiated more successfully from this position of identity security, which could be created by this control of the language they speak with their supervisors.

5.2.4 Motivation for target languages and cultures

This desire to use TLs and cultures was however dependent on continued motivation. Koroush, who was in France with his wife, and so able to use Persian with her on a daily basis had been extremely interested at first in learning French, making the effort to develop his level in French to integrate. He became less motivated later as he became aware of the very limited job prospects in France, with access to long-term, post PhD contracts only possible through competitive entrance exams in French (Van Der Jeught, 2016). This creates an enormous barrier for non-French-speaking researchers as they need to have an excellent command of French to be successful. As a result, he concentrated on English as the language of science allowing him access to research jobs internationally, for which French would be of limited use. His identity as an international researcher, affirmed by his studies, allowed him and the other SA doctoral researchers, to consider this option. English rather than French would be imposed professionally for many aspects of work wherever he was able to find a suitable contract. The social capital therefore that could be gained through the use of English was far greater for the SA doctoral researchers in this study than French, increasing motivation to improve their level in English.

Despite this and the barriers that exist for work in France, Alex and Chao continued to look for opportunities to work in France later, with Chao securing a post-doctoral position in Paris after his PhD. The doctoral researchers appreciated the multilingual and multicultural aspects of their experience and felt it was a positive part of their studies in France. However, the lack of investment in learning French, or even refusal for Cong was a recurring theme, with lack of time often given as the cause. The experience described by Koroush with the limited possibilities for work in France though tend to impact negatively on motivation to learn French, potentially regretting their time in the country and reacting as exiles, described by Carauana (2014). Within the framework of INT, the need to feel affirmatively valued is considered as essential to successful identity negotiation. Whilst this seems to have been achieved by the SA doctoral researchers within their professional communities of practice at the institute, outside that environment, this notion, coupled with feelings of being understood and respected were not necessarily fulfilled for all the SA doctoral researchers.

5.2.5 Living in France

The choice of language outside the institute was reported as being rarely open to negotiation, with French usually imposed. The statement from the Toubon law *'French is a fundamental element of the personality and heritage of France'* has support from 85% of the population in France (Van Der Jeught, 2016) showing a strong desire amongst the local population to use French. This potential barrier is not discussed on the website for Campus France. The advice given on their official website for students and researchers considering studying in France is somewhat misleading with the statement in a promotional video that studying French before arriving is not necessary as the lessons are in English (Campus France, 2017), which contradicts the Toubon and Fioraso laws. Such claims could lead to the situation found in this research of not studying French and arriving in France unprepared for any barriers.

5.2.5.1 Study

Campus France claims that 1200 classes in higher education are in English despite the constraints imposed by law. Certain exceptions are allowed, although the study of French remains compulsory with the student or researcher's level in French being taken into account to successfully complete their studies.

Leur niveau de maîtrise de la langue française est pris en compte pour l'obtention du diplôme

Their mastery of French is taken into account when awarding the certificate or diploma (my translation).

(France, La loi Fioraso. Gouvernement français, France 2013).

This legal requirement is not mentioned on their website. In addition, even if study materials are mainly in English for certain subjects, study in France with no understanding of French impossible, shown by the experiences of the SA doctoral researchers in this study. Their unanimous advice of studying French before arriving, and the difficulties developing competences in French once in France due to time constraints, is perhaps a more realistic view of the preparation required. There is a real risk of a negative impact on the individuals' identities especially over a period of three years for studies such as a PhD. INT argues that membership and identities within a community as well as personal characteristics are constructed through symbolic communication (Ting-Toomey, 2005). The need to use French with colleagues both in and outside the professional context at the

institute, advised by all the SA doctoral researchers, would therefore allow greater power and membership of communities through these identities.

5.2.5.2 *Outside the institute*

Even if the SA doctoral researchers developed certain CCs in French, their identities may also be affected by their accent or certain barriers that are ideologically informed, for example visible aspects of their culture such as dress outside the institute (Preece, 2016). Koroush's experience on the metro in Paris France impacted very negatively on his identities. In Iran he was considered well educated and was well respected within his speech community and within his community of practice in France, he had the identities of a SA doctoral researcher. In addition, his manner was extremely gentle and respectful of others. Whereas he was positioned through dominant ideological values (Canagarajah, 2004) by the ticket inspectors as a foreigner who was trying to cheat the Paris metro without a valid ticket, and was fined in public with others watching. Koroush was unable to find information about his journey in any language other than French in keeping with French law, which allows the translation of public documents into two languages, not just one, a procedure that prevents most documents being translated. As a result, his experience in Paris of not understanding or being understood or respected was very painful and difficult for him to accept.

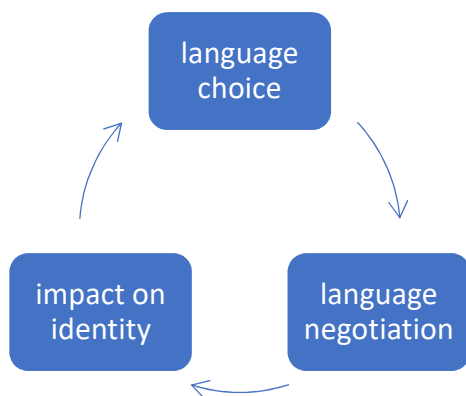
5.3 Summary

The SA doctoral researchers were accepted for three years of PhD study in France, and so were unlikely to abandon an opportunity that would have such an enormous impact on their future. However, the barriers they encountered were very real and the challenges to their identities were extensive, although the individual experiences of the SA doctoral researchers varied. As Isabelli-Garcia et al. (2018) and Coleman (2013) have argued SA students or doctoral researchers do not necessarily have anything in common, other than studying in a host country. In this study however, the challenges they encounter to their identities appear to be a common feature of their experience. Interestingly there was also no correlation between their home language and culture and the challenges or barriers they experienced.

Chapter 6 **Conclusions and recommendations**

This thesis posed three research questions to understand the language choices made, how these were negotiated and the impact on identities during the experience of study abroad in multilingual contexts. The interdependence between these RQs (Braun and Clarke, 2006) became apparent with language choice impacting on potential language negotiations, impacting on identity, which in turn

impacted on language choice.



To answer the RQs I needed to understand the contexts confronting SA doctoral researchers. Considering the environments encountered by SA doctoral researchers through the framework of communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991) allowed me to identify the existence of several communities in which they needed to communicate. This was a first step to understanding the potential barriers and possible solutions. The framework of CCs also threw light on integration as well as communication on the many levels that the SA doctoral researchers required with others in multicultural and multilingual contexts. In addition, the role in negotiating these situations of IA was considered. Understanding the importance of IA, and the various negotiations that the SA doctoral researchers undertook, in conjunction with INT from Ting-Toomey (2005) allowed a deeper understanding of the degree of success in access and participation within these communities.

6.1 Key findings

6.1.1 Language choice

The data collected showed a range of language choices made by the SA doctoral researchers within four clearly defined contexts in France that influenced possible choices, which vary from those documented by Coleman for Erasmus students in Figure 4.

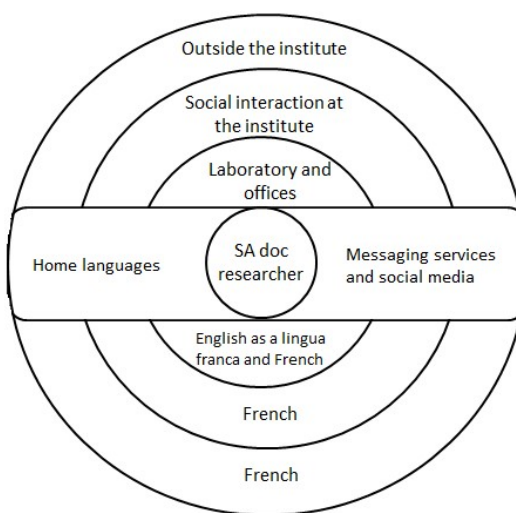


Figure 4 Doctoral researcher contexts

- The professional context at the institute where the choice between ELF and French existed.
- Social interaction at the institute, where French dominated
- Outside the institute, in contact with the local population where French was the only possibility
- A virtual community through messaging services where home languages could be used, with one SA doctoral researcher also reporting ELF.

Understanding these contexts encountered by the SA doctoral researchers was central to understanding the challenges and barriers that potentially existed. The possible language choices and potential for negotiation open to the SA doctoral researchers were in relation to the type of community they wished to access. The task based professional communities of practice allowed the use of ELF and French with doctoral researcher status allowing access to these communities. In contrast, membership was based on the ability to communicate socially in French for speech communities. This was also the case for further speech communities encountered with the local population. Six of the seven SA doctoral researchers had not considered the need for French before arriving, with adverse

consequences for even basic interaction on arrival. A complete refusal to use French led to isolation for Cong, but not investing in ELF would have adversely affected the SA doctoral researchers' identities as international researchers and scientists. The need and opportunities to use of ELF were greater than in their home countries where their language choices professionally would have included their home country languages. Greater experience in academic discourse using ELF therefore was an advantage. The choice of home languages within the institute was limited with only one speaker for each home language other than the Brazilian doctoral researchers of which there were five at the institute. Social isolation was found to be earlier in the contexts than in Coleman's model where the local language was only found in the outer circle with the local population. However, both these findings support previous research findings that international studies can be a lonely experience (Due et al., 2015; Sawir et al., 2008).

6.1.2 Negotiating language choice

Whilst language choice was found to be most open to negotiation within the professional context at the institute, the negotiation of language choice was only possible through the cooperation of their French-speaking colleagues. Whilst the SA doctoral researchers in this study did not report any barriers to using ELF for activities linked to research in the community of practice, French could legally be imposed. However, findings in the research showed that both languages could be used professionally for communication with colleagues, with assistance offered between speakers in the case of language barriers. In addition, the attitude towards translanguaging at the institute in this context was very positive. This avoided imposing a language, encouraging a more fluid approach to the languages used by each speaker, building more lasting communication possibilities.

Isolation in social contexts was a barrier for certain SA doctoral researchers with language choice imposed by French-speakers who were the dominant group (Pavlenko, 2012; Hyland, 2009). This choice was perceived as a refusal to communicate by certain SA doctoral researchers, leading to feelings of loneliness during coffee breaks. The same French-speaking individuals used ELF in the community of practice, potentially making the barriers more painful and incomprehensible. This exclusion of speakers of other languages is not unusual and was also found by Nam (2018) and Zhang and Harzing (2016) through the choice of speaking the host country language for social interaction.

Reported language negotiation outside the institute showed limited communication possibilities. Abelino reported using mimes for a medical examination, but generally French was required with meaning seldom negotiated. The list of potential intensifiers found in English-speaking countries put forward by Winchester-Seeto et al. (2014) for SA doctoral researchers in Australia appears highly relevant to the experiences of the SA doctoral researchers in non-English-speaking countries. Similarities in the barriers encountered by both groups suggest that ELF does not assist interaction outside academia, whether the host country is English or another language.

6.1.3 Implications for identities

Identity challenges were well accepted in the professional context of international research, having a positive impact for the doctoral researchers. In addition, they had a specific role allowing them to access and participate in the community of practice. ELF also gave a more positive identity and possibly lower academic anxiety in France than studying in English-speaking country (Kaypak and Ortaçtepe, 2014). The researcher identity was one they would have enjoyed in their home country, allowing them to experience being respected and valued in the community. However, as Caruana (2014) argues a lack human and professional opportunities can transform potentially cosmopolitan SA doctoral researchers into exiles. As with all SA students, this may result in barriers to future professional opportunities as well as a modified perception of the host country and motivation to study French for certain SA doctoral researchers.

Unlike the Erasmus students described in Coleman's work, the speech community for the SA doctoral researchers included few 'outsiders' with French dominating in this context. Repercussions existed from social interaction in an unfamiliar cultural and linguistic environment for the SA doctoral researchers' identities with varying results. These ranged from a greater personal satisfaction in their interactions and feelings of inclusion leading to a more positive impact on identity with identity emotional security, to feelings of exclusion and isolation in this context and identity emotional vulnerability (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Outside the institute barriers could be further increased even for simple daily activities, for example buying a train ticket. The exclusion experienced through these contexts was extremely painful for the SA doctoral researchers concerned. The identity that they had in the community of practice was lost in this context, leaving them open to being

positioned by others as an outsider, creating a negative impact, and identity emotional vulnerability (Ting-Toomey, 2005).

6.2 Contributions to research

Addressing the research gap into SA doctoral researchers' experiences in non-English-speaking countries is a first step in understanding the context and opening up the possibility of further research. SA doctoral researchers move in and out of complex communicative contexts as they work and study. This makes frequent demands on their communicative competences and can present barriers. The notion of distinct communities within the institute, requiring not only different languages, but also different communicative competences to negotiate is a contribution of great importance to research in this area. I created a model adapted from Colman (2013), representing the language use in contexts encountered by the SA doctoral researchers. This model greatly assisted me in three areas.

- ✓ Firstly, understanding the links between context, activity and language choices.
- ✓ Secondly understanding the importance of language choices in relation to activities.
- ✓ Thirdly, the complex communicative contexts became apparent, highlighting the greater linguistic barriers facing SA doctoral researchers compared to Erasmus students during SA described by Coleman (2013).

The SA doctoral researchers were required to negotiate language choices within these contexts. My research also contributes to understanding the reality and potential social repercussions of these complex language choices, which do not always reflect language policy for academic purposes in non-English-speaking countries. Balance between conflicting aims in language use must be achieved, although officially in France this would require adapting official policies and laws. Modifying the perception of the use of two or more languages, viewing them as being in collaboration rather than in competition would be more productive. This can be seen with the parallel use of languages (Kristiansen, 2013), see appendix J (p.260), put forward by Nordic countries to combat domain loss. The parallel use of languages promotes the use of both host country languages and English whilst rewarding the use of host country languages (Hultgren, 2018). The linguistic reality this research encountered reflects this attitude, rather than the requirements of the

Toubon and Fioraso laws. The clause suggesting rewarding the use of the host country language is potentially more productive than attempting to impose a language through legislation. Rewards could take the form of a particular mention on the PhD, or more directly with access to certain funding, to encourage this investment. Ultimately academic achievement would be enhanced through a more flexible approach with greater well-being of SA doctoral researchers (Due et al., 2015; Winchester-Seeto et al., 2014).

In turn these choices impacted on the individuals' identity negotiations. Ting-Toomey (2005) argues that effective intercultural identity-based knowledge is necessary for competent identity negotiation. The individuals in this study who showed greater cultural awareness and sensitivity also reported less isolation during their stay. However, as for many SA students, the potential risk of isolation was high for the SA doctoral researchers, partly due to the finding of the lack of French language study prior to arriving in France. Isolation was increased by the expectation on the part of many SA doctoral researchers that English would suffice in France for day to day activities. The use of ELF, although of great professional value, remains a choice that has limitations in non-English-speaking countries to access social contacts, supporting research by Kalocsai (2014) and Nam (2018). The level of investment, both academically and socially, in accepting studies abroad is very high for SA and were potential barriers for the doctoral researchers. Therefore making the experience as rewarding as possible for the individuals concerned should be in the interests of not only the educational establishments (Due et al., 2015), but also the future. The SA doctoral researchers will undertake a career as international researchers and their view of their host country will stay with them throughout this time. A positive research and social experience in these countries should lead to improved future collaboration and networking activities.

An additional contribution is the seven specific areas of further SA research I recommend below.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Preparation prior to arriving in France

To assist the SA doctoral researchers in their negotiation of language and culture, the host university should make them aware of the need for a minimum of language skills in French before moving abroad, rather than presenting study in France as only requiring English. This could be of great help in understanding the

culture, and realising the importance of French during their stay at a period when they have time to dedicate themselves to this activity, rather than once they have started the demanding work of a PhD with the risk of distrust and bias arising from a lack of understanding of the TC (Ting-Toomey, 2005). All the participant SA doctoral researchers advised learning enough about French language and culture to assist them with day to day living outside the institute (appendix E p.232).

In addition to cultural and linguistic competences, future SA doctoral researchers need to be made aware of the emotional challenges they may face as they reconstruct their identities. This should allow them to deal better with negative experiences and feelings. The unexpected challenges they all faced only increased the feeling of isolation, perceiving their situation as unusual and a personal failure.

6.3.2 Social isolation

Access to a community must be permitted by the community and accepted by the doctoral researcher. The advantages gained by Chao and Alex through the use of third space when attempting to understand what was expected from them by the other speakers in the target culture were very positive for their membership of the speech community. Five of the SA doctoral researchers did not report viewing situations from the French-speakers point of view and with the exception of Manon, reported a higher level of isolation in the speech community. The use of third space therefore should be encouraged with SA doctoral researchers from the beginning of their stay and could potentially reduce the barrier of isolation.

Creating social contacts and friendships however involves the cooperation of the SA and French-speaking doctoral researchers. The French-speakers may not view this as their role at the institute, or have any interest in creating friendships, with the onus for initiating communication on the SA doctoral researchers (Block, 2007). The French-speaking doctoral researchers should be made aware of the long-term professional advantages of creating friendships, or at least the beginnings of a professional international network with the SA doctoral researchers. Greater collaboration between the two groups of doctoral researchers, possibly working with the SA doctoral researchers' home universities and therefore exploiting their language competences could be introduced.

6.3.2.1 Computer-mediated-communication

Collaboration, if undertaken by doctoral researchers without intervention from supervisors, would also allow for greater use of the SA doctoral researchers' home languages. As a result of the current pandemic these exchanges may become easier to organise, with more work and discussions being undertaken online, despite being viewed previously as impractical due to time constraints.

International networking could also be introduced. This networking may be easier prior to starting with a research group at the institute although it would require a completely new organisation for many different groups. This may also be potentially possible now as working practices are changing due to the pandemic. If successful it could lead to a greater sense of belonging, creating links that may be exploited throughout their stay and future career, benefitting both groups.

Exchanges based on the progressive exchange model in virtual exchange (VE) could be used. At first, presentations of individuals and their home universities or country could be employed using various computer-mediation-communication (CMCs) tools, for example prezi, which could also have professional uses later. Care should be taken that the activity is not scholastic, but reflects the needs and experiences of international researchers. Potential areas could also include equipment, collaboration partners, past projects as well as discussing the experience of working online. These could develop a better understanding of working in a culturally diverse group, working with various perspectives and understanding certain cultural expectations within international research (Wyburd, 2017). These aspects should be highlighted with the French-speakers, who being the majority in this study did not communicate socially to any extent outside their speech community.

Due to the enormous workload the doctoral researchers have, it is unlikely that VE could be organised as an extra activity. However, integrating it into hours with the Ecole Doctorale, extra obligatory hours for all doctoral researchers, would be a valuable resource for all the participants. For those who are motivated, an exchange of personal experiences could also be developed, possibly through English lessons at the institute. Many skills required for networking and collaboration in international research can be explored through VE. These include:

- Greater contact with other doctoral researchers
- A better understanding of the challenges faced by SA doctoral researchers.

- Cross-cultural communication and a deeper understanding of working in a culturally diverse community.
- Greater knowledge of CMCs available.
- The use of CMCs in an international community.
- The simultaneous use of various CMC tools.
- The ability to adapt to others experiencing linguistic and digital barriers.

The activity being a real exchange linguistically and requiring intercultural competences (Crump 2018; Hauck and Kurek 2017) should increase motivation and learning for the participants. In addition to linguistic and cultural understanding, the activity will encourage the participants to appreciate the potential of digital media for their personal and professional life (Hauck, 2019).

6.3.3 Communicative competences for French and English

6.3.3.1 Prior to studies

To increase this sense of belonging and well-being CCs and Intercultural Awareness should be encouraged before coming and after arrival by their previous university or the establishment in France. A possibility that I have seen in the UK is for the SA doctoral researchers to arrive at an earlier date than other doctoral researchers. IA programmes prior to SA have shown greater understanding of the target culture and their own cultural identity leading to greater cultural sensitivity for SA students generally (Sawir et al., 2008). A quieter period with the support of international doctoral researchers, students or members of their establishment, could be of great benefit. Towards the end of this initiation the French-speaking doctoral researchers could be included in this project through shared activities. This should reduce feelings of isolation for the SA doctoral researchers and assist in the cultural understanding and sensitivity for both groups. As all the doctoral researchers are undertaking their work to become experienced international researchers, this would be important for their professional development and identity for their future work. In addition, once doctoral studies were commenced the time available for language learning was limited.

In view of the covid restrictions, these activities could take place online through telecollaboration, described by Hauck (2007).

6.3.3.2 During studies

At the institute English lessons are generally individual, although organising lessons for groups based on social CCs for researchers from various linguistic

backgrounds would be interesting. The inclusion of IA in these English lessons should lead to a greater understanding of the TC as well as their own cultural identity, promoting greater cultural sensitivity on both sides. Being an international setting, this teaching could be of value to researchers generally at the institute. The lessons should be a time when researchers explore international research culture as well as their own and each other's cultures, advocated by Caruana and Ploner (2010). They should offer a context in which the doctoral researchers feel that their own culture is understood and valued, contributing to a more positive identity discussed in Caruana (2014). The positive identity security from these experiences should lead to greater interaction with members of the host culture (Hotta and Ting-Toomey 2013). The participants would have a shared goal, creating a community of practice outside their research projects to explore national and international cultures. The use of ELF to undertake this exchange also affects issues of power, with no researcher having ownership of a language that could be considered neutral in this context (Kaypak and Ortaçtepe, 2014). ELF is also a logical choice for this exercise being the language they need internationally for their research careers. This language use reflects the call from some academics, for example Xiaowei Zhou and Pilcher (2019) for the creation of 'comfortable third spaces' where the object is to learn from intercultural interactions to allow for both personal and professional development, deepening cultural understanding between researchers generally and fostering greater collaboration between researchers from diverse backgrounds and cultures. This collaboration is already encouraged at the institute, but could be extended within a safe space for cultural exchanges in a protected environment. Mutually supportive relationships between French-speaking and SA doctoral researchers, developed through these exchanges, should add to the inclusion at least within the community of practice, potentially extending outside the professional context (Due et al., 2015). Attending international conferences should also provide the impetus to explore socialising with those from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to collaborate and create networks with others from their discipline. When choosing to work in science, ICCs are not always considered, but the opportunity to work together with doctoral researchers, potentially from all over the world should be exploited to the full by all the doctoral researchers.

6.3.3.3 French language classes

The main barrier for French classes was the timetable which should be better adapted to the SA doctoral researchers' busy schedules. Nevertheless, if the classes can be accessed, they offer what has been described as a safe house (Canagarajah, 1997) with other researchers and immigrants to discuss the barriers they experienced. Safe houses were important to the SA doctoral researchers as they were also used outside French classes, returning to their own languages through social media and films. However, to reinforce the potential networks between individuals from the French classes social events could be created for all doctoral researchers, exploiting this further international resource.

6.4 Strengths and limitations

One of the major strengths from this study was that I was able to give a voice to SA doctoral researchers in what has become a common experience. Nearly half of all doctoral researchers, 41% in 2017 in France, (Campus France, 2017) fall into this category, yet research in this area is sparse. Accessing the voices of the SA doctoral researchers can help inform practice and improve their learning experiences.

The size of the institute was a further strength of this study. As a small establishment in comparison to a university, I was able to negotiate with gate keepers and other important actors with whom I had already had contact due to my unique position at the institute. The trust that already existed between us was instrumental in gaining access for this study into an otherwise under-researched area. The relationship of trust also extended to the SA doctoral researchers as I was an English-speaking doctoral researcher having studied in France previously. The understanding of their situation through shared experiences was appreciated and commented on by the SA doctoral researchers.

A limitation of this study was to consider only the SA doctoral researchers and their supervisors' perspective, although these were extremely varied, showing different perceptions of the contexts resulting in a range of approaches from individuals.

6.4.1 Methodology

6.4.1.1 Interviews

As regards my methodology, a limitation was that the SA doctoral researchers found the experience of being interviewed in English very tiring and were unable to speak for long periods in English about themselves. I therefore reduced the length

of each interview to around fifteen minutes and recorded on different days to allow them to discuss their individual experiences more clearly. As this study has shown, the competences developed in ELF professionally are not those required for social interaction.

6.4.1.2 Language

Language also impacted on my data collection in other ways. When transcribing the interviews, I was surprised at the number of interventions I made. I reflected on this whilst interviewing other participants and realised that I was often reacting to their request for assistance with a language barrier. This could be a question or a pause in the interview, but could also be through body language. Interviewees used hand gestures or enquiring looks that were not noticeable on an audio recording. The SA doctoral researchers reported these forms of negotiation of language barriers for French, but also used them regularly in English during the interviews. A further reason for the hesitancy was being unsure of my question. When writing my transcriptions I discovered I have a tendency of offering potential responses when asking questions. This may be useful for language learners who still require comprehension support, offering greater understanding of my question and vocabulary for possible answers. However, it is not a good interview technique and was an aspect I tried to improve. Being aware of these difficulties was a first step to improving my interview technique, and in later interviews I tried to reformulate questions if there were any communication barriers. I remained flexible in my approach as ignoring requests for help made by interviewees would have modified the dynamics between us and ultimately would have been counterproductive.

6.4.2 Emic and etic positions

The most problematic part of this research though had a direct link with my emic position. Observations in the laboratory were not easy to undertake. As the laboratories are open areas or in the case of a scientific platform used for industrial scale experiments, access was limited due to client confidentiality even if I was not observing that research group. I managed to have access to laboratories three times over a period of several months and obtained only limited data. Although the main reason for this observation was to observe language use, being a known English-speaker at the institute I was spoken to in English. A further complication was the size and layout of the laboratory which made my presence obvious during the observation data collection. Despite sitting quietly on a stool

just outside the working area I was also recognised by members of staff during this data collection, some of whom came in from the corridor and stopped to speak to me. This made it more difficult to blend in and observe language use in the laboratory, and potentially led to reactivity in certain members of staff. A possible solution in retrospect may have been to ask another member of staff to observe and fill in a table for me with the relevant information. Their presence would not have been noticed in the same way and as researchers they should have had no difficulties in understanding what was required.

Finally, on one occasion the ambiguity of my role as an insider at the institute created a barrier with a participant. Although trust was established between us later, Manon expressed her fears in an e-mail following our first interview that I may discuss her comments with her supervisor. This was despite previous assurances being given when she had signed the consent form that I would not discuss any information she gave me. I did gain her trust, but this was a potential barrier to my research I had not considered at first.

6.5 Suggested further research

This research has started to explore an area of education in which few studies have been undertaken, with several directions for further research. These include language choices and the well-being of the SA doctoral researchers. Six areas for future research that I consider important are presented below.

6.5.1 *Language choice*

- The experiences of the French-speaking researchers undertaking their PhD in a multilingual context would complement the present study. The SA doctoral researchers reported certain barriers that existed between them and the French-speaking researchers socially. The inclusion of the point of view of the French-speaking researchers would allow the situation to be understood in more depth and assist in proposing solutions. This should improve the well-being of all doctoral researchers with repercussions on many aspects of their work, including academic achievement and future collaboration between countries.
- A further potential area of research that could be explored is access to studying the host country language. When researching study abroad, many studies considered the experiences of language students, rather than science students or doctoral researchers. The lack of French studies

before arriving suggests they were unprepared linguistically having not considered these challenges.

- In addition, the reasons behind the choice of English by the French-speaking teachers of French at the university would be of great interest, although understandably difficult to undertake in view of legislation.

6.5.2 SA doctoral researchers and their well-being

- The potential barrier of isolation for SA doctoral researchers is another area that could be explored in more depth. Whilst this barrier was shown to exist for these doctoral researchers with differences between individuals' personal experiences and methods they employed to gain access to communities, a better understanding of the barriers and possible solutions would be of great value.
- In addition, the impact of the recommendations I suggested of working with IA on access and participation socially at the institute would be of great interest to assess the effectiveness and acceptability of this teaching.
- Finally, the influence of hierarchy and language choice in a social setting would be of interest, assisting in understanding certain barriers that SA doctoral researchers may encounter through this potential barrier. Choice for this reason may reinforce negative impacts on identity and '*feelings of being understood, respected and affirmatively valued*' (Ting-Toomey, 2005 p.218).

6.6 Summary

Addressing the research questions from this study has allowed me to understand the different communities and the requirements that are needed to access those communities. Through the voices of the SA doctoral researchers, practice was informed and potentially their learning experiences improved. This research is a first step to assisting the SA doctoral researchers and other actors to anticipate certain challenges to act on before they arrive and during their stay.

I have greatly enjoyed this study. It has increased my understanding of SA doctoral researchers' experiences in France as well as encouraging other members of staff to consider this group of doctoral researchers in a different light. I hope to contribute to the understanding of their personal experiences over the three years of their research project through the recommendations I have

summarised in appendix K (p.261). Despite the limited research to date, this is an important, relevant and growing area of education.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Consent forms

A1 Consent form English

Consent form

I accept to take part in the study by Mary Bret on academic writing in English. The project has been explained, and I have had the opportunity to discuss it.

I understand that this work will be presented as part of a Doctorate in Education and that my anonymity will be protected. No information will be published or made available to the public.

I also understand that I may withdraw at any point during the study if I wish to.

A2 Consent form Chinese

同意书

我愿意参加由玛丽 布瑞(Mary Bret)主持的英文写作研究项目。这个项目已经得到了非常清楚的阐述，而且我也已经有机会参与讨论。

我明白这部份的工作将作为一个教育博士学位(应用语言学)的一部分，我将匿名并受到保护。

我也知道如果我愿意，我可以在任何时候退出这项工作。

Signed / 签名

A3 Consent form Portuguese

Formulário de Consentimento

Eu aceito participar do estudo de Mary Bret*. O projeto foi explicado, e eu tive a oportunidade de discutir o assunto.

Eu entendo que este trabalho será apresentado como parte de um Doutorado em Educação e que o meu anonimato estará protegido. Nenhuma informação será publicada ou disponibilizada ao público.

Eu também entendo que eu posso retirar-me a qualquer momento no decorrer do estudo, se assim eu desejar.

A4 Consent form Persian

Govahié Rezayat

injaneb ghabool mikonam dar darshayike khanoom Marie Bert midahad sherkat namayam.

in barname be man ejaze dade ast ke betavanam dar morede nokate mokhtalefe in peroje nazar bedaham.

in peroje ghesmaty az dotoraye oloome parvareshy ast va esme man be digaran alamy nakhahad shod.

dar toole in barnameye darsy , zendegiye khosisie man dar dastrese omoom nist.

hamchenin dar har moghe man mitavanam dar in barnameye darsy sherkat nakonam.

A5 Consent form French

Attestation de consentement

J'accepte de participer à l'étude menée par Mme Mary BRET. Ce projet m'a été présenté et j'ai eu toute opportunité d'en discuter les détails.

J'ai compris que ce travail sera présenté comme étant une partie d'un doctorat en Sciences de l'Education et que mon anonymat sera protégé. Aucune information à caractère personnel me concernant ne sera publiée ni mise à la disposition du public.

J'ai également compris que j'ai la possibilité de me retirer de l'étude en cours à quelque moment que ce soit.

Signed / Signature

A6 Consent form Russian

Соглашение,

Я согласна принять участие в исследовании Мэри Брет. Проект был объяснен и я имела возможность обсудить его.

Я осознаю, что эта работа будет представлена как часть докторской диссертации в области образования и что моя анонимность будет защищена. Никакая информация не будет опубликована или сделана доступной для общественности.

Я тоже осознаю, что в любой момент я могу прервать участие в этом проекте при моем желании.

Подпись

A7 Gatekeeper consent form English

Consent form

I accept that Mary Bret undertakes a study with the doctoral researchers and supervisors in my establishment. The project has been explained, and I have had the opportunity to discuss it.

I understand that this work will be presented as part of a Doctorate in Education and that the participants' and the establishment's anonymity will be protected.

A8 Gatekeeper consent form French

J'accepte par la présente que Mary Bret réalise une étude avec les chercheurs doctorants et directeurs de thèse de mon établissement. Le projet a été expliqué et j'ai eu toute opportunité d'en discuter.

J'ai bien été informé que ce travail sera présenté dans le cadre d'un doctorat aux sciences de l'éducation et que l'anonymat, tant celui de l'établissement que celui des participants sera pleinement respecté.

Signed/signé

Appendix B – Coding and interview

B1 Transcription conventions

This is based on Gumperz and Berenz 1993 guidance for transcriptions.

1. Simultaneous utterances:

Two speakers starting to speak at the same time - This is shown by a left hand bracket [

2. Overlapping utterances:

Two speakers are speaking at the same time – this is shown by left and right hand brackets around the simultaneous utterances [and]

3. Latching :

One speaker immediately follows another speaker, not allowing any pause between the two – this is shown by an equals sign, = after the first speaker's utterance and before the second speaker's utterance. It can also be used if the utterance is interrupted with the first speaker continuing their utterance

4. Characteristics of speech delivery:

These show the way in which speech has been delivered, marking intonation and pronunciation in an utterance.

. a full stop indicates a fall in tone, indicating completion, although not necessarily a sentence

, a comma indicates a slight rising tone and continuation

? a question mark indicates a rising tone which may indicate a question although not necessarily

! an exclamation mark indicates an animated tone, although not necessarily an exclamation

: a prolongation of a vowel sound in standard spelling

5. Doubts in transcription:

Normal brackets () have been used to give further information about the discussion eg. laughing.

6. Braces { } have been used when the words in the recording are unclear

7. Distinctive pronunciation:

As is the convention in transcriptions, standard spelling has been used throughout, except when pronunciation included extra sounds, for example limited, rather than limited.

8. Pauses and gaps between utterances:

These are timed in tenths of seconds and written into the utterance at the moment of the pause or the gap between utterances between < and >. A shorter, untimed pause is indicated by a dash - .

In addition, the number shown in brackets following interview data indicates the interview from which it was taken.

B2 Colour coding

Reasons to use English

Reasons to use French

Language equality and inequality, Denationalised language vs national language and Stigma

Importance of home languages, The use of home languages, Family and friends and Maintaining home languages

Social integration, Social isolation and Migrant identity

Reasons to be in France and Reasons to study abroad

Informal language learning, Formal language learning, Non-verbal communication competences, Time constraints, Language aids and Use of technology

Feelings towards multilingual needs and Mixing languages

Situations that blocked due to language (French, no situations blocked because of English)

Language refusal and Language choice

B3 Abelino

Interview Abelino 1

Int : Well, thank you for agreeing to speak to me. Erm, could you tell me about a typical day and the languages you use and with whom?

Abelino : OK, erm, the language that I use for live in France is English. I have difficulties to speak French at the moment. I am student in French, but it's really hard to me, so English every time, in the work and outside with my friends. And typically my day is coming to the institute, working using English with my boss, with the people and during the weekend doing the things that normal people do, drink with friends and everything in English. Every time (laughs)

Int : So you don't use Portuguese at all?

Abelino : Just with the other Brazilians.

Int : uh hmm, OK, and when you say people erm, err outside (name of the institute), are you talking about the supermarket, or are you talking about researchers around the world, erm?

Abelino : Different inside the institute because we have our relationship inside the work and we have different relationship out the work. So, - (laughs)

Int : But you've not started to build up a network err, globally, of researchers that you contact?

Abelino : No.

Int : No?

Abelino : No

Int : OK, erm, can you remember any difficulties that you've experienced erm, with the languages? You said about French, erm, and how, how have you resolved them?

Abelino : [erm]

Int : [Or have] you resolved them?

Abelino : So, - that's the second time that I live out my country

Int : uh hum (encouraging)

Abelino : Erm, The first time was the United States and in the beginning it was really difficult to me, and I tried to understand, listen English in the beginning was really difficult. And when I don't understand and they don't understand me I using the hands, pointing and I did it in the United States and I did it the same in France.

Int : uh hum (encouraging)

Abelino : Usually I try to make mimics

Int : You mime?

Abelino : Yeah.

Int : Yeah.

Abelino : To, to make the people understand me and it works!

Int : [Oh good!]

Abelino : [yes], It's a secondary way to communicate with the people I think.

Int : Yeah.

Abelino : Yeah.

Int: And you say you are doing the French studies, is that with the university?

Abelino : U:h, no. You mean - ?

Int : You're, you're studying French?

Abelino : Yes, I am doing a French course, after work, but it's a short time, so I don't have too much time to study because I need to dedicate me in the work and, I am doing in my time.

Int : Yeah. That's my question really, that we ask you to do two languages on top of a [PhD.]

Abelino : [Yeah,] yeah.

Int : Which is quite a lot of work! (laughs)

Abelino : It's good because the professor when she needed explain us something she use English. Because if everything was just in French, I could to understand everything, of the course.

Int : Do you enjoy this mixture of languages, or?

Abelino : Yeah, I think it's really good because we can, erm improve I think, the culture, I don't know, the knowledge about the world. I think it's, just a positive experience.

Int : hum (agreeing) <1,5 > And have there been situations where you have been able to choose the language, either Portuguese or English, or possibly French [if it's]?

Abelino : [Yes,] when I arrive in France and I needed to open a banking account the, the man- manager?

Int : yes, manager

Abelino : she speak Portuguese. So it was really good to me because I could explain exactly what I needed and she could explain me everything. That was awesome. (laughs)

Int : Alright. Why did she speak Portuguese? Her [family was]?

Abelino : [Because] her mother and father, they are Portuguese, and err she was born in, in France.

Int : Uh hum (understanding)

Abelino : and they came to France, she was born here and they returned to Portugal and she speak French, and Portuguese fluently.

Int : That's quite [unusual].

Abelino : [Yeah],

Int : [You were lucky]

Abelino : [Very lucky, yes].

Int : Can you think of any situations that have been more difficult because it's blocked with the language? You were very lucky with the bank.

Abelino : Yeah, hmm that was really difficult and I just needed to – er, OK, yes. When I needed to buy a number of the cell phone, no one speak English and also my first medical consultation, the doctor don't speak anything about English and she needed make me questions, and I couldn't answer anything! (laughs) Was hard these two situations.

Int : [and, er

Abelino : [The doctor and the cell phone was really difficult.

Int : And the doctor especially, how did you resolve the, [the difficulty]?

Abelino : [erm, using] hands, and she make some questions about my body, if I have some er pain in some place and I just move with my hand and say no (laughs) and, and she ask me if I can see something far away, and I say yes I can.

Int : The medical history though would be limited.

Abelino : Yes, it was really difficult.

Int : OK

Abelino : And sometimes I use google translation on my cell phone and, it help.

Int : That's, yes that wasn't available [when I was younger] (laughs)

Abelino : [Yes google translation] today helps in our lives! (laughs)

Int : Like Skype as well to, do you use Skype to contact people in Brazil [or not too much]?

Abelino : [Err no, no] we use What's app

Int : Oh [OK, yes, but you use some kind of

Abelino : [And we send voice messenger and video messenger and everything using What's app.

Int : Do you think that helps you being here to be able .. to contact people in Brazil easily [or is it a hindrance]?

Abelino : [Yes, is important], I think is important, yeah. We feel lost in the communication with the people, er that close to us, it's really difficult, keeping the life in a completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah.

Int : Yeah, so you used it in the States as well?

Abelino : Yeah, yes I think, the same, yeah.

Int : If you're writing e-mails to people, erm, what language would you [choose]?

Abelino : [English]

Int : Always English?

Abelino : Yes, unfortunately English. Er, usually when I needed to make a mail for someone in (name of the institute), it is in English and with the manager in bank in Portuguese! But,

Int : (laughs) Amazing luck!

Abelino : Yeah, uh, I feel free to use English here because science today, the language of science is English. If you need to publish your work, it's in English. If you needed to make a conference, it's in English. So I don't fear to use English every time inside a research institute because, the language of science today is English, so it's OK.

Int : But do you come across people who don't speak English here? Or -

Abelino : Yes, some students don't speak English very well and sometimes it's really difficult to talk with them, but....

Int : So again any ... [solutions]?

Abelino : [Yeah, in this case] I try using my poor French (laughs) and my hands! (laughs)

Int : (laughs) Erm, and what about the protocol in the labs, is that in French or English? [You say]

Abelino : [In French]

Int : Yes, because science, you're telling me [is in English],

Abelino : [Yes, French], so what I do is, some words in French are similar Portuguese and I can understand some words, others similar English a:nd, I try take this information and build my, my own protocol.

Int : OK, so you wouldn't discuss it with somebody else?

Abelino : And discuss with my boss and with the other friends that do the same experiment to check if I'm doing that correctly.

Int : And the protocol that you've used in Brazil, is that in Portuguese?

Abelino : Portuguese, yes, yeah.

Int : So you were expecting that it would be in French here?

Abelino : Yes, it's the same yeah. But some institutes, because in Brazil you have a different mixture, way to make science. That depend on the place. In the universities you have.. the first way, the people use a protocol the way that they want and the institute is the international way, before, yes how can I say the broad way maybe. Like you can find English protocols in institutes, not in universities.

Int : OK

Abelino : In Brazil usually you can find a difference. The institutes are correct - and the universities make the way that they want.

Int : OK and in Brazil would you say there comes a point where you're blocked if you only speak Portuguese, or if that's the system is it possible to continue in science just in Portuguese?

Abelino : You mean - if I can keep doing science in just in Portuguese?

Int : Yeah, or would your career block at some point if you couldn't use English?

Abelino : Yes, in Brazil today is, er some universities and institutes are introducing English really strong. for example. Some classes. they are given in English. Even in the institute or in universities. So I think today if you don't speak English, even in Brazil, you are behind a lot of people, because it's really important inside the science to speak English today, even in Brazil. But as I, as I told you before in some universities they do it the way they want. The institute they try looking the world, how the world are working and they try and make the same. Yeah. (laughs)

Int : OK, so have you experienced great difficulties, or some difficulties with the fact that the protocol is in French. You say you try to understand, you discuss with other people.

Abelino : uh hmm (understanding)

Int: Have you ever had the experience that perhaps you've done the wrong thing because the protocol was in French, [or not]?

Abelino : No, was exactly that as I told you before, nothing different.

Int : To try to understand the maximum yourself and, and then discuss?

Abelino : No, I am three months here and don't have too much experience with the protocol. Maybe in the future (laughs) I don't know, but

Int : No, it's just a question. I would think if you've discussed it with others then

Abelino : No, no not that I remember.

Int : OK, well that's fine, thank you [very much]

Abelino : [OK] thank you very much.

Interview Abelino 2

Int : Well, thank you for agreeing to speak to me again. I had a few questions from what we spoke about last time. And you said when you go out to drink with friends in the evening, everything's in English.

Abelino : OK.

Int : And, does this bother you, is a problem in any way?

Abelino : So, it's not boring, it's not a real problem, but sometimes you feel that you are, - er how can I say, err messy, like you are in a different place, that you are not with the others together and I think that the reason, could be, because the French or don't like or don't want, or I don't know, to speak English, and you feel it necessary to speak French and they close them, I think that is ... the answer for that.

Int : OK, so you end up with two groups, an international group, and a French group? [When you go out].

Abelino : [Yes,... yes, yes]. For example, the Brazilian group and the French group and sometimes we are together, but looks like we are not completely together.

Int : But then if it's a Brazilian group, it would be Portuguese rather than English?

Abelino : Portuguese, yeah.

Int : So for it be English, it would have to be other nationalities as well?

Abelino : Yes, uh hum, uh hum

Int : But the French would stay with speaking French?

Abelino : Some French, some French they speak English, but the majority, I think – the, the real group, they don't like to speak English. That is the feeling that I have you know.

Int : Uh hmm, very interesting. Erm, another point, you said about studying in the United States,

Abelino : Uh hum.

Int : What motivated you to come to France with another language, another culture that you had to learn? You had to start that process all over again. What motivated you to do that?

Abelino : Well, er, I think the, the real reason to come to France was because I needed a job. (Laughs)

Int : (Laughs), OK.

Abelino : And in Brazil we have a difficult situation at the moment. Because of political problems, economy and I think that was the real reason to come, but at the same time I think that is a good experience to absorb new informations [sic] and cultures and whatever. I think that's really important. But the motivation was I needed a job! (Laughs).

Int : (Laughs) that's the real one! Erm, yeah, because you could perhaps have gone to another English-speaking country. You could have gone back to the US, you could have gone to England, South Africa, Australia

Abelino : Yes,

Int : But you thought it would be more interesting to explore?

Abelino : I didn't choose to come to France actually, my last boss, he have, a, he has a contract, like a friendship with this institute and he knows about this opportunity and asked me if I was interested and I say yes of course.

Int : OK. As good a reason as any. Erm, and you talked about English being the language for science.

Abelino : Yes.

Int : Do you think you feel more at ease now discussing science in English even than Portuguese, or would you still prefer Portuguese ultimately?

Abelino : I think I always will prefer Portuguese because it's my native language. I (was) taught in Portuguese and OK, I can speak English today but I know that I don't have a perfect English. I know that I have too much to learn. I think the one year that I had in the United States was really good to learn English, because today I think I can speak English and understand English because of this time in the United States.

Int : Uh Hum

Abelino : But sometimes I don't feel really, err, in a good position to make a, a class or talking about important work in a seminary, a big seminary. But today I feel safer than before to speak English and. But I always will prefer to speak Portuguese, with some words that I am doing properly.

Int : I don't know, there's so much science that is written in English that I wondered if maybe you'd got to the stage where .. the vocabulary came more easily in English than Portuguese. [But it's still Portuguese for you?]

Abelino : [Ye:s, but I] think Portuguese for me is a really difficult language. Even the Brazilians sometimes have a strong wrong thing in Portuguese with the grammar and I think the reason is because we have a different way to pronounce the verbs and I think in English it is easier considering the time of verbs.

Int : Yes, if there's an ['s' there we pronounce it]

Abelino : [Yes, like the past] and the future. In Portuguese we have too much difference and it really helps us when we are start to learn English.

Int : So that wasn't a motivation for you to go to America?

Abelino : The motivation was to, yeah, to, to absorb English because we need English, we can't run away, it's important today. We can't using our native language to do science, it's impossible, unfortunately.

Int : I was going to say, it's interesting you said 'unfortunately' you feel in a way it's a handicap [for you]?

Abelino : ['Unfortunately'] because you know if you have a tool to do something, that you are using this tool, using this tool is better than needing to learn a new tool to do the same thing you are already doing, you know. That is the reason I say 'unfortunately'. But I don't know if it's the better word, word because it's awesome when you are learning new things and you can use things to do other things.

Learning English is nice, but sometimes you want to explain something that you know and you don't know how to explain it in the better way because you don't command that, you know, I think, you know.

Int : Oh, I know! (Laughs)

Abelino : (Laughs)

Int : And does that make you feel frustrated?

Abelino : Sorry?

Int : Does it frustrate you that situation?

Abelino : Err, could be sometimes when you are needed to, to express something really important the, the way that you know the must and you can't do it because you don't command the tool. In this case English. I don't feel safe to explain some results and some important results that I have in science sometimes, because they need to be really good explained

Int : Yeah.

Abelino : Yeah

Int : No, I can understand that. Erm, do you feel the same about the limitations you have in French now, as to the limitations you had in English before, or had you done more [English and felt more at ease]?

Abelino : [No:], I think, when I arrived in the United States was easier when comparing when I arriving in France because, I already had some experiment [sic – experience] with English before. I needed to do that TOEFL.

Int : Oh ye:s (understanding)

Abelino : Yes, that's really hard, and I think I was, more prepared to arrive in French, in sorry, the United States than France so, ...

Int : They didn't ask for a language test for you here?

Abelino : Sorry?

Int : They didn't ask you to pass a language test?

Abelino : No, no, no. Because, er I think the, the position I have right now, the doc position, they realise, or they think you already know English and we can use

English to discuss everything, the results or the job. Was that, because when I went to the United States, was a student position, so I think the students they ask about some tests, exams that you need to show them that you are able to do something. In a doc position, they already think that you know at least English to do the, the job.

Int : Oh, alright, so they would [expect]

Abelino : [Yes]

Int : You could do your doctorate in Portuguese in Brazil though, or not?

Abelino : Yes, you mean the final presentation? Yes, will be in Portuguese, but should be in English. The reason that it is in Portuguese was that my supervisor that living Virginia in the United States, she couldn't to watch my presentation in the Skype, so there is no reason to speak English because that if she could to watch my presentation, to make some questions, or whatever, I should to do in English, the presentation.

Int : But, because [she won't]

Abelino : [Yeah], she is my supervisor, together with my other supervisor in Brazil. I have two supervisors.

Int : So in a way it wouldn't prove that you speak English, that you've studied to doctorate level in Brazil in Portuguese.

Abelino : What?

Int : It wouldn't prove that you spoke English

Abelino : Ah, yes sure.

Int : Because your doctorate is in Portuguese

Abelino : Yes, no, absolutely. Yeah, yeah, sure.

Int : But they, they didn't ask for anything. Umm, when we spoke about er, Skype and What's app too, because you use What's app rather than Skype,

Abelino : Yes.

Int : erm, it seemed very important to you. Erm, would you have accepted so easily to come to France if you didn't have the possibility to use that technology?

Abelino : I think, no no, I think the reason that I use What's app or just , er, use technology is more to, to keep the conversation with my friends from Brazil, or just things. I think there is no change in my life in France because I use or not this.

Int : But what I mean is, would you have felt so happy to come to (the town) if your - if you were unable to keep such regular contact, with people in Brazil?

Abelino : Ah, OK, you mean about if my friends get happy or not?

Int : No, no. Would you would you have accepted to come to France to do your studies if you had thought that erm, you couldn't have such regular contact, with family or friends that were still in Brazil? That you were more cut off from them?

Abelino : Ah, OK, yes, absolutely.

Int : if it was perhaps one phone call a month or something.

Abelino : I think it could be really difficult, yeah. If I don't have this technology with me and show them everything and talk them, it would be really hard if I don't have this technology to – to share I think everything and, =

Int : = but would it have made a difference on you accepting to come to France or what?

Abelino : No

Int : Not really?

Abelino : No, I don't think so. No.

Int : OK, erm, and have you decided yet which country that you want to work in later? Will you go back to Brazil? Will you go on to somewhere else or is it not decided yet?

Abelino : (sound of loud footsteps and the Abelino laughs) So you mean when I go back to Brazil if I have a preference or,....

Int : When you've finished your studies, is there a project yet of where you will work?

Abelino : I don't think I will ever change the way that I work inside the science. Always will be the same. I mean, er doing all my analysis, understanding,

interpretating [sic] my biological data, but, reproducing these for the community, like the humanity in the world, always in the er, science language, that is English. I think I can't change it because, OK, I can do a lot of analysis, a lot of different work, but when I must to describe everything that I did, the way what I found, what interpretate [sic], I can do it in Portuguese, but will be limited [sic] for the people in Brazil. If I want to share it with the globe, I must to do it in English. I think we don't have a different way to, like I can choose some words.

Int : But if you could choose where to live, er it may be dictated, as you said before, that there was a job. But if you could choose, would you go off and learn yet another language and culture, or would you prefer to go back to Brazil for a while? =

Abelino : = No, I think I go to learn another language. If I learn English and I try to learn French, I think I can learn another one (laughs). I'll learn a lot of languages! Pff, one more! OK, if my brain supports it! (laughs).

Int : I don't think my brain would actually! <1,6> Erm, ah yes,- when you talk about going out for the drink, are the people erm, from within the (the name of the institute)? How do you know the people that you meet outside?

Abelino : Err, you mean? =

Int : =People that you meet. You were saying about the two groups that can be created, the international and the French, erm, how do you know those people? Are they people you study with? Are they friends of friends, or ..?

Abelino : Erm, some of them are friends of friends, I think the, the only friends that are have are from (the name of the institute) and the other people that I have started to meet and knowing them, are friends of my friends here. Yeah, yeah.

Int : But they tend to be students still, or a mix =

Abelino : = No, a mix, yeah. But sometimes, er when I go out with Brazilians we already meet some friends in the bar because I think the people like Brazilian people and they ask, *ah you are from Brazil? ah that's nice!* And they start to ask about a lot of things and we start to make friends, take the contact of each other and Facebook and, we already did this twice. With two French that is not from (the name of the institute), just because we are Brazilian (laughs). It's great!

Int : Oh, right! That's lovely

Abelino : Yeah, it's funny!

Int : You have a good reputation!

Abelino : Yes, I think the people in the world like our, our way to live, I don't know.

Int : Oh really?

Abelino : Yeah, maybe.

Int : OK, well thank you very much, I'll let you go=

Abelino : =Thank you.

Interview Abelino 3

Int : OK, so hello again. Thank you for agreeing to speak to me once more. Erm, we discussed your use of French err outside the establishment, socially in bars and erm, you said that the French will use French whilst they're in the bar, whereas you will end up in a group speaking English. Is that how it works in the lab as well, or is it more mixed?

Abelino : Yes, in the, in the lab I use English with my boss, because the first experience [sic –experiment] in the beginning, I couldn't understand anything in French. I think neither today I can't understand completely. But today I think I can er, understand some words and sometimes I can start one conversation in French, a little bit. But later I must to change to English again. But in the work I can use the English with some people, some technicals [sic], my boss and other students and we can understand each other.

Int : Yeah, and I suppose the choice of who you speak to in the lab, it's the work, or is it, do you make a choice to speak to one person about something?

Abelino : You mean if I can choose?

Int : Yes, if you choose who you communicate with, [or is it just to do with the work]?

Abelino : [Not with the all], some people, they, they can use the English to talk with me, but others, they don't know, and I don't know what to do sometimes (inaudible).

Int : But in the lab you =

Abelino : = I try to use the French that I know, to telling something, to ask something and they try understand my French (laughs)

Int : (laughs) So you would say French is more used in the laboratory [than English]?

Abelino : [oh here], here, yes.

Int : OK, erm, and what have you been doing whilst you've been here to improve your French?

Abelino : Well, I was a student French in the classes

Int : Hmm (listening)

Abelino : but, it's taking too much time of me because the experiment I'm doing right now take a while and sometimes I am doing the experiment into at night and I can't go to the French course. But in the same time, I can, .. erm try to speak French with the others here and it helps me a lot because I can understand our knew, new, know new words with them, create my dictionary and start to learn French with this relationship I have with the people here inside the institute.

Int : And so that would be only for working in the laboratory, or would it be at the canteen, the cafeteria? What sort of French?

Abelino : Usually the same people that are working here. We go to the canteen or the cafeteria, but outside, umm, I not have French friends that they are from French, but I can try with the people in the store, or when I need to buy bread, or medicines or something like that. I try to say, the first thing that I say is 'J'essaye de parler français' (I try to speak French – my translation) and they say, 'Oh tu parles bien français' (Oh, you speak French well – my translation) (laughs) and we try to, to use a bit of French. I think these things can help me.

Int : Yeah. Sounds as if the atmosphere is quite nice for you as well. Both of you trying with the languages.

Abelino : Yeah. I think I am better than the beginner because when I arrive here I just know 'salut' (Hi – my translation) and 'ça va?' (How are you? – my translation) and now I can use different words and start a bit of conversation. And I think I progress.

Int : And you would say social English as well as academic er social French as well as academic French in the lab

Abelino : Yes, yeah.

Int : Do you, hope to continue your French studies when you've finished your, your work here or do you think you won't have time or?

Abelino : Well, I didn't think about it, but I don't know if I will keep study French after my work here because, er as I told you before, the, the language that I use to make my work is English. I need it to write in English, I need to speak in English, I need to do everything in English. So what I think about is studying more is English because I need to improve my English. If I need to go in the congress and to speak for other scientists, I need to use a good English to explain my work to them and I will not use the French for that. So - maybe I ought to study French more too, have more knowledge, but I don't know if I will keep doing it in the future. Maybe, I don't know.

Int : Probably depends on time.

Abelino : Yeah. It depends on if I will stay here more time or not.

Int : So you would give priority definitely to English?

Abelino : Yes, yes, absolutely.

Int : OK, well right, that's fine for me

Abelino : Yeah, OK

Int : It was just to finish up some questions I had

Abelino : If you have any other questions you can send me by e-mail

Int : Yes, OK, lovely, thank you.

Interview Abelino 1

Int : Well, thank you for agreeing to speak to me. Erm, could you tell me about a typical day and the languages you use and with whom?

Abelino : OK, erm, the language that I use for live in France is English. I have difficulties to speak French at the moment. I am student in French, but it's really

hard to me, so English every time, in the work and outside with my friends. And typically my day is coming to the institute, working using English with my boss, with the people and during the weekend doing the things that normal people do, drink with friends and everything in English. Every time (laughs)

Int : So you don't use Portuguese at all?

Abelino : Just with the other Brazilians.

Int : uh hmm, OK, and when you say people erm, err outside (name of the institute), are you talking about the supermarket, or are you talking about researchers around the world, erm?

Abelino : Different inside the institute because we have our relationship inside the work and we have different relationship out the work. So, - (laughs)

Int : But you've not started to build up a network err, globally, of researchers that you contact?

Abelino : No.

Int : No?

Abelino : No

Int : OK, erm, can you remember any difficulties that you've experienced erm, with the languages? You said about French, erm, and how, how have you resolved them?

Abelino : [erm]

Int : [Or have] you resolved them?

Abelino : So, - that's the second time that I live out my country

Int : uh hum (encouraging)

Abelino : Erm, The first time was the United States and in the beginning it was really difficult to me, and I tried to understand, listen English in the beginning was really difficult. And when I don't understand and they don't understand me I using the hands, pointing and I did it in the United States and I did it the same in France.

Int : uh hum (encouraging)

Abelino : Usually I try to make mimics

Int : You mime?

Abelino : Yeah.

Int : Yeah.

Abelino : To, to make the people understand me and it works!

Int : [Oh good!]

Abelino : [yes], It's a secondary way to communicate with the people I think.

Int : Yeah.

Abelino : Yeah.

Int: And you say you are doing the French studies, is that with the university?

Abelino : U:h, no. You mean - ?

Int : You're, you're studying French?

Abelino : Yes, I am doing a French course, after work, but it's a short time, so I don't have too much time to study because I need to dedicate me in the work and, I am doing in my time.

Int : Yeah. That's my question really, that we ask you to do two languages on top of a [PhD.]

Abelino : [Yeah,] yeah.

Int : Which is quite a lot of work! (laughs)

Abelino : It's good because the professor when she needed explain us something she use English. Because if everything was just in French, I could to understand everything, of the course.

Int : Do you enjoy this mixture of languages, or?

Abelino : Yeah, I think it's really good because we can, erm improve I think, the culture, I don't know, the knowledge about the world. I think it's, just a positive experience.

Int : hum (agreeing) <1,5 > And have there been situations where you have been able to choose the language, either Portuguese or English, or possibly French [if it's]?

Abelino : [Yes,] when I arrive in France and I needed to open a banking account the, the man- manager?

Int : yes, manager

Abelino : she speak Portuguese. So it was really good to me because I could explain exactly what I needed and she could explain me everything. That was awesome. (laughs)

Int : Alright. Why did she speak Portuguese? Her [family was]?

Abelino : [Because] her mother and father, they are Portuguese, and err she was born in, in France.

Int : Uh hum (understanding)

Abelino : and they came to France, she was born here and they returned to Portugal and she speak French, and Portuguese fluently.

Int : That's quite [unusual].

Abelino : [Yeah],

Int : [You were lucky]

Abelino : [Very lucky, yes].

Int : Can you think of any situations that have been more difficult because it's blocked with the language? You were very lucky with the bank.

Abelino : Yeah, hmm that was really difficult and I just needed to – er, OK, yes. When I needed to buy a number of the cell phone, no one speak English and also my first medical consultation, the doctor don't speak anything about English and she needed make me questions, and I couldn't answer anything! (laughs) Was hard these two situations.

Int : [and, er

Abelino : [The doctor and the cell phone was really difficult.

Int : And the doctor especially, how did you resolve the, [the difficulty]?

Abelino : [erm, using] hands, and she make some questions about my body, if I have some er pain in some place and I just move with my hand and say no (laughs) and, and she ask me if I can see something far away, and I say yes I can.

Int : The medical history though would be limited.

Abelino : Yes, it was really difficult.

Int : OK

Abelino : And sometimes I use google translation on my cell phone and, it help.

Int : That's, yes that wasn't available [when I was younger] (laughs)

Abelino : [Yes google translation] today helps in our lives! (laughs)

Int : Like Skype as well to, do you use Skype to contact people in Brazil [or not too much]?

Abelino : [Err no, no] we use What's app

Int : Oh [OK, yes, but you use some kind of

Abelino : [And we send voice messenger and video messenger and everything using What's app.

Int : Do you think that helps you being here to be able .. to contact people in Brazil easily [or is it a hindrance]?

Abelino : [Yes, is important], I think is important, yeah. We feel lost in the communication with the people, er that close to us, it's really difficult, keeping the life in a completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah.

Int : Yeah, so you used it in the States as well?

Abelino : Yeah, yes I think, the same, yeah.

Int : If you're writing e-mails to people, erm, what language would you [choose]?

Abelino : [English]

Int : Always English?

Abelino : Yes, unfortunately English. Er, usually when I needed to make a mail for someone in (name of the institute), it is in English and with the manager in bank in Portuguese! But,

Int : (laughs) Amazing luck!

Abelino : Yeah, uh, I feel free to use English here because science today, the language of science is English. If you need to publish your work, it's in English. If you needed to make a conference, it's in English. So I don't fear to use English every time inside a research institute because, the language of science today is English, so it's OK.

Int : But do you come across people who don't speak English here? Or -

Abelino : Yes, some students don't speak English very well and sometimes it's really difficult to talk with them, but.....

Int : So again any ... [solutions]?

Abelino : [Yeah, in this case] I try using my poor French (laughs) and my hands! (laughs)

Int : (laughs) Erm, and what about the protocol in the labs, is that in French or English? [You say]ch other

Abelino : [In French]

Int : Yes, because science, you're telling me [is in English],

Abelino : [Yes, French], so what I do is, some words in French are similar Portuguese and I can understand some words, others similar English and, I try take this information and build my, my own protocol.

Int : OK, so you wouldn't discuss it with somebody else?

Abelino : And discuss with my boss and with the other friends that do the same experiment to check if I'm doing that correctly.

Int : And the protocol that you've used in Brazil, is that in Portuguese?

Abelino : Portuguese, yes, yeah.

Int : So you were expecting that it would be in French here?

Abelino : Yes, it's the same yeah. But some institutes, because in Brazil you have a different mixture, way to make science. That depend on the place. In the universities you have.. the first way, the people use a protocol the way that they want and the institute is the international way, before, yes how can I say the broad way maybe. Like you can find English protocols in institutes, not in universities.

Int : OK

Abelino : In Brazil usually you can find a difference. The institutes are correct - and the universities make the way that they want.

Int : OK and in Brazil would you say there comes a point where you're blocked if you only speak Portuguese, or if that's the system is it possible to continue in science just in Portuguese?

Abelino : You mean - if I can keep doing science in just in Portuguese?

Int : Yeah, or would your career block at some point if you couldn't use English?

Abelino : Yes, in Brazil today is, er some universities and institutes are introducing English really strong. for example. Some classes. they are given in English. Even in the institute or in universities. So I think today if you don't speak English, even in Brazil, you are behind a lot of people, because it's really important inside the science to speak English today, even in Brazil. But as I, as I told you before in some universities they do it the way they want. The institute they try looking the world, how the world are working and they try and make the same. Yeah. (laughs)

Int : OK, so have you experienced great difficulties, or some difficulties with the fact that the protocol is in French. You say you try to understand, you discuss with other people.

Abelino : uh hmm (understanding)

Int: Have you ever had the experience that perhaps you've done the wrong thing because the protocol was in French, [or not]?

Abelino : No, was exactly that as I told you before, nothing different.

Int : To try to understand the maximum yourself and, and then discuss?

Abelino : No, I am three months here and don't have too much experience with the protocol. Maybe in the future (laughs) I don't know, but

Int : No, it's just a question. I would think if you've discussed it with others then

Abelino : No, no not that I remember.

Int : OK, well that's fine, thank you [very much]

Abelino : [OK] thank you very much.

Interview Abelino 2

Int : Well, thank you for agreeing to speak to me again. I had a few questions from what we spoke about last time. You said when you go out to drink with friends in the evening, everything's in English.

Abelino : OK.

Int : So, does this bother you, is a problem in any way?

Abelino : So, it's not boring, it's not a real problem, but sometimes you feel that you are, how can I say, err messy, like you are in a different place, that you are not with the others together and I think that the reason could be because the French all don't like or I don't know to speak English and you think it necessary to speak French and they close them, I think that is the answer for that.

Int : OK, so you end up with two groups, an international group and a French group?

Abelino : Yes,... yes, yes. For example, the Brazilian group and the French group and sometimes we are together, but looks like we are not completely together.

Int : But then if it's a Brazilian group, it would be Portuguese rather than English?

Abelino : Portuguese, yeah.

Int : So for it be English, it would have to be other nationalities as well?

Abelino : Yes, uh hum

Int : But the French would stay with speaking French?

Abelino : Some French, some French they speak English, but the majority, I think the real group, they don't like to speak English. That is the feeling that I have you know.

Int : Another point, you said about studying in the United States,

Abelino : Uh hum.

Int : What motivated you to come to France with another language, another culture that you had to learn? You had to start that process all over again. What motivated you to do that?

Abelino : Well I think the real reason to come to France was because a job.
(Laughs)

Int : (Laughs), OK.

Abelino : And in Brazil we have a difficult situation at the moment, because of political problems, economy and I think that was the real reason to come, but at the same time I think that is a good experience to absorb new informations [sic] and cultures and whatever. I think that's really important. The motivation was I needed a job! (Laughs).

Int : (Laughs) that's the real one! Yeah, because you could perhaps have gone to another English-speaking country. You could have gone back to the US, you could have gone to England, South Africa, Australia

Abelino : Yes,

Int : But you thought it would be more interesting to explore?

Abelino : I didn't choose to come to France actually, my last boss, he had a contract, like a friendship with this institute and he knows about this opportunity and asked me if I was interested and I say yes of course.

Int : OK. As good a reason as any. Erm, and you talked about English being the language for science.

Abelino : Yes.

Int : Do you think you feel more at ease now discussing science in English even than Portuguese, or would you still prefer Portuguese ultimately?

Abelino : I think I always will prefer Portuguese because it's my native language. I (was) taught in Portuguese and OK, I can speak English today but I know that I don't have a perfect English. I know that I have too much to learn. I think the one year that I had in the United States was really good to learn English, because today I think I can speak English and understand English because of this time in the United States.

Int : Uh Hum

Abelino : But sometimes I don't feel really in a good position to make a class or talking about important work in a seminary, a big seminary, but today I feel safer than before to speak English. But I always will prefer to speak Portuguese with some words that I am doing properly.

Int : I don't know, there's so much science that is written in English that I thought maybe you'd got to the stage where the vocabulary came more easily in English than Portuguese.

Abelino : Yes, but I think Portuguese for me is a really difficult language. Even the Brazilians sometimes have a strong wrong thing in Portuguese with the grammar and I think the reason is because we have a different way to pronounce the verbs and I think in English it is easier considering the time of verbs.

Int : Yes, if there's an 's' there we pronounce it

Abelino : Yes, like the past and the future. In Portuguese we have too much difference and it really helps us when we are start to learn English.

Int : So that wasn't a motivation for you to go to America?

Abelino : The motivation was to, yeah, to, to absorb English because we need English, we can't run away, it's important today. We can't using our native language to do science, it's impossible, unfortunately.

Int : I was going to say, it's interesting you said 'unfortunately' you feel in a way it's a handicap for you?

Abelino : 'Unfortunately' because you know if you have a tool to do something, that you are using this tool, using this tool is better than needing to learn a new tool to do the same thing you are already doing, you know. That is the reason I say 'unfortunately'. But I don't know if it's the better word because it's awesome when you are learning new things and you can use things to do other things. Learning

English is nice, but sometimes you want to explain something that you know and you don't know how to explain it in the better way because you don't command that, you know, I think, you know.

Int : Oh, I know! (Laughs)

Abelino : (Laughs)

Int : And does that make you feel frustrated?

Abelino : Sorry?

Int : Does it frustrate you that situation?

Abelino : Could be sometimes when you are needed to express something really important the way that you know the most and you can't because you don't command the tool. In this case I don't feel safe to explain some results and some important results that I have in science sometimes because they need to be really good explained

Int : Yeah.

Abelino : Yeah

Int : Yeah, I can understand that. And do you feel the same about the limitations you have in French now as the limitations you had in English before, or had you done more English and felt more at ease?

Abelino : No, I think, when I arrived in the United States was easier when comparing to arriving in France because I already had some experiment with English before. I needed to do that TOEFL.

Int : Oh yes (understanding)

Abelino : Yes, that's really hard and I think I was more prepared to arrive in French, in sorry, the United States than France so,

Int : They didn't ask for a language test for you here?

Abelino : Sorry?

Int : They didn't ask you to pass a language test?

Abelino : No, no, no. Because I think the position I have right now, they realise, or they think you already know English and we can use English to discuss

everything, the results or the job. Because when I went to the United States, was a student position, so I think the students they ask about some tests, some exams that you need to show them that you are able to do something. In a doc position, they already think that you know at least English to do the job.

Int : Oh, alright, so they expect

Abelino : Yes

Int : You could have done your doctorate in Portuguese though, or not?

Abelino : Yes, you mean the final presentation, yes, will be in Portuguese, but should be in English. The reason that it will be in Portuguese was that my supervisor that living Virginia in the United States, she couldn't to watch my presentation in the Skype, so there is no reason to speak English because that if she could to watch my presentation, to make some questions, or whatever, I have to do in English, the presentation.

Int : But, because she didn't

Abelino : Yeah, she is my supervisor, together with my other supervisor in Brazil. I have two supervisors.

Int : So in a way it wouldn't prove that you speak English, that you've studied to doctoral level in Brazil in Portuguese.

Abelino : What?

Int : It wouldn't prove that you spoke English

Abelino : Ah, yes sure.

Int : Because your doctorate is in Portuguese

Abelino : Yes, no, absolutely. Yeah, yeah, sure.

Int : But they didn't ask for anything. Umm, when we spoke about Skype and Whatsapp, because you use Whatsapp rather than Skype,

Abelino : Yes.

Int : erm, it seemed very important to you. Erm, would you have accepted so easily to come to France if you didn't have the possibility to use that technology?

Abelino : I think, no no, I think the reason that I use Whatsapp or use technology is more to keep the conversation with my friends from Brazil, or just things. I think there is no change in my life in France because I use or not this.

Int : But what I mean is, would you have felt so happy to come to (the town) if you were unable to keep such regular contact with people in Brazil?

Abelino : Ah, OK, you mean about if my friends get happy or not?

Int : No, no. Would you have accepted to come to France to do your studies if you had thought you couldn't have such regular contact with family or friends that are still in Brazil? That you were more cut off from them?

Abelino : Ah, OK, yes, absolutely.

Int : Perhaps one phone call a month or something.

Abelino : I think it could be really difficult, yeah. If I don't have this technology with me and show them everything and talk them, it would be really hard if I don't have this technology to share I think everything and

Int : Would it have made a difference on you accepting to come to France?

Abelino : No

Int : Not really?

Abelino : No, I don't think so. No.

Int : OK, and have you decided yet which country you want to work in later? Will you go back to Brazil? Will you go on to somewhere else or is it not decided yet?

Abelino : (sound of loud footsteps and the Abelino laughs) So you mean when I go back to Brazil if I have a preference or,....

Int : When you've finished your studies, is there a project yet of where you will work?

Abelino : I don't think anything will change the way that I work in science, always will be the same. I mean doing all my analysis, understanding, interpreting my biological data, but reproducing these for the community, like the humanity in the world, always in the science language, that is English. I think I can't change it because, OK, I can do a lot of analysis, a lot of different work, but when I must to

describe everything that I did, the way what I found, what interpretate [sic], I can do it in Portuguese, but will be limited [sic] for the people in Brazil. If I want to share it with the globe, I must to do it in English. I think we don't have a different way to, like I can choose some words.

Int : But if you could choose where to live, er it may be dictated as you said before by where there is a job. But if you could choose, would you go off and learn another language and culture, or would you go back to Brazil for a while?

Abelino : No, I think I go to learn another language. If I learn English and I try to learn French, I think I can learn another one (laughs). I'll learn a lot of languages! Pff, one more! OK, if my brain supports it! (laughs).

Int : I don't think my brain would actually! Erm, ah yes, when you talk about going out for the drink, are the people from within the (the name of the institute)? How do you know the people that you meet outside?

Abelino : Err, you mean....?

Int : People that you meet. You were saying about the two groups that can be created, the international and the French, erm, how do you know those people? Are they people you study with? Are they friends of friends, or

Abelino : Erm, some of them are friends of friends, and I think the only friends that are have are from (the name of the institute) and the other people that I have started to meet and knowing them are friends of my friends here. Yeah, yeah.

Int : But they tend to be students still, or

Abelino : No, a mix, yeah. But sometimes when I go out with Brazilians we already meet some friends in the bar because I think the people like Brazilian people and they ask, *ah you are from Brazil? ah that's nice!* And they start to ask about a lot of things and we start to make friends, take the contact of each other and Facebook and, we already did this twice. With two French that is not from (the name of the institute), just because we are Brazilian (laughs). It's great!

Int : Oh, right! That's nice

Abelino : Yeah, it's funny!

Int : You have a good reputation!

Abelino : Yes, I think the people in the world like our way to live, I don't know.

Int : Oh really?

Abelino : Yeah, maybe.

Int : OK, well thank you very much

Abelino : Thank you.

Interview Abelino 3

Int : OK, so hello again. Thank you for agreeing to speak to me once more. Erm, we discussed your use of French outside the establishment, socially in bars and you said that the French will use French whilst they're in the bar, whereas you will end up in a group speaking English. Is that how it works in the lab as well, or is it more mixed?

Abelino : Yes, in the lab I use English with my boss, because the first experience (experiment) in the beginning, I couldn't understand anything in French. I think neither today I can't understand completely. But today I think I can understand some words and sometimes I can start one conversation in French, a little bit, but later I must change to English again. But in the work I can use the English with some peoples, technical [sic], my boss and other students and we can understand each other.

Int : Yes, and I suppose the choice of who you speak to in the lab it's the work, or is it, do you make a choice to speak to one person about something?

Abelino : You mean if I can choose?

Int : Yes, if you choose who you communicate with, or is it just to do with the work?

Abelino : Not with the all, some people, they can use the English to talk with me, but others, they don't know, and I don't know what to do sometimes (inaudible).

Int : But in the lab?

Abelino : I try to use the French that I know to telling something to ask something and they try understand my French (laughs)

Int : So you would say French is more used in the laboratory than English?

Abelino : Here, here, yes.

Int : OK, erm, what have you been doing whilst you've been here to improve your French?

Abelino : Well, I was a student French in the classes

Int : Hmm (listening)

Abelino : but, it's taking too much time of me because the experiment I'm doing right now take a while and sometimes I am doing the experiment into at night and I can't go to the French course. But in the same time, I can, .. trying to speak French with the others here and it helps me a lot because I can understand our knew, new, know new words with them, create my dictionary and start to learn French with this relationship I have with people here inside the institute.

Int : And so that would be only for working in the laboratory, or would it be at the canteen, the cafeteria? What sort of French?

Abelino : Usually the same people that are working here. We go to the canteen or the cafeteria, but outside, I not have French friends that they are from French, but I can try with the people in the store, or when I need to buy bread, or medicines or something like that. I try to say, the first thing that I say is 'J'essaye de parler français' (I try to speak French – my translation) and they say, 'Oh tu parles bien français' (Oh, you speak French well – my translation) (laughs) and we try to, to use a bit of French. I think these things can help me.

Int : Yeah. Sounds as if the atmosphere is quite nice for you as well. Both of you trying with the languages.

Abelino : Yeah. I think I am better than the beginner because when I arrive here I just know 'salut' (Hi – my translation) and 'ça va?' (How are you? – my translation) and now I can use different words and start a bit of conversation. I think I progress.

Int : And you would say social English as well as academic English? err social French as well as academic French in the lab

Abelino : Yeah, yeah.

Int : Do you hope to continue your French studies when you've finished your work here?

Abelino : Well, I didn't think about it, but I don't know if I will keep study French after my work here because, er as I told you before, the language that I use to make my work is English. I need it to write in English, I need to think in English, I need to do everything in English, so what I think about is studying more in English because I need to improve my English. If I need to go in the congress and to speak for other scientists, I need to use a good English to explain my work to them and I will not use the French for that. Maybe I ought to study French more too, have more knowledge, but I don't know if I will keep doing it in the future. Maybe, I don't know.

Int : Probably depends on time.

Abelino : Yeah. It depends on if I will stay here more time or not.

Int : So you would give priority definitely to English?

Abelino : Yes, yes, absolutely.

Int : OK, well right, that's fine for me

Abelino : Yeah, OK

Int : It was just to finish up some questions I had

Abelino : If you have any other questions you can send me by e-mail

Int : Yes, OK, lovely, thank you.

Supervisors

B10 Julie

Interview Julie

Int : So, good morning. Erm, could you tell me about a typical day and the languages you use and with whom, spoken and written?

Julie : Euh, je travaille beaucoup sur des dossiers en Skype donc en fait la langue que je vais utiliser va dépendre vraiment du type de document que je rédige soit pour mon département de recherche soit des articles scientifiques, donc ce sera français pour l'administratif et anglais pour l'aspect scientifique et pour les Skype, dès qu'il y a un partenaire anglophone ou en tous cas étranger, euh...ce sera en anglais. En fait, ce qui conditionne, c'est vraiment les participants et le type de travail.

Int : Ok, so that comes in to my second question, er, a student who comes, for example, at the moment there are Brazilian students here, how do you chose which language to speak with them?

Julie : Je vais lui demander ce qu'il préfère, est-ce qu'il comprend le français, est-ce qu'il préfère...comment il préfère qu'on échange ? Je vais lui demander est-ce qu'il est plus à l'aise, est-ce qu'il veut progresser en français auquel cas je vais lui parler en français doucement et il peut répondre en anglais s'il veut si c'est mieux pour lui, donc en fait on va décider ensemble qu'est-ce qui est plus pratique pour l'échange et s'il me demande de faire en anglais je ferai en anglais.

Int : And can you think of any situations when the choice of language is imposed?

Julie : Dans les réunions...dans un projet européen, c'est systématiquement en anglais, toute la réunion, systématiquement, euh quand un étudiant arrive et ne parle pas un mot de français on n'a pas le choix au départ en tous cas. Voilà les deux principales situations où c'est imposé finalement, de fait, il n'y a pas le choix.

Int : So you find that all researchers have a certain level in English ?

Julie : En tous cas, un minimum pour pouvoir échanger sur le travail, c'est-à-dire un anglais technique quoi, c'est sûr, ça c'est quand même indispensable

Int : Ok, so can you tell me how, in your experience, researchers that are speakers of other languages manage to use both English and French for their work. In your experience, what have you seen?

Julie : c'est extrêmement diversifié, l'échelle est très large en fait de la, comment dire, de la facilité qu'on éprouve ou pas à parler anglais. Euh, je connais des chercheurs très bons scientifiques qui ont vraiment une réticence, qui n'ont jamais surmonté cette réticence et ça va peser sur leur carrière c'est-à-dire qu'ils vont

quand même de préférence choisir euh les conférences qu'ils peuvent faire en français, dans les pays francophones, ils vont vraiment pas être proactifs pour faire des conférences en anglais parce que ça leur coûte trop. Donc ça c'est vraiment le premier échelon et c'est très dommage parce que vraiment ça a un impact sur leur rayonnement. Et puis à côté de ça il y a des chercheurs qui ont été beaucoup...qui ont été en post doc à l'étranger, qui ont été amenés à parler anglais, à se débrouiller tous les jours en anglais et donc ils ont surmonté leur appréhension. Voilà, après, ils ont un plus ou moins bon accent, moi par exemple j'ai plus d'appréhension mais j'ai pas du tout un bon accent mais je le fais parce que voilà c'est juste nécessaire et puis il y en a qui vraiment sont complètement à l'aise, maîtrisent super bien, font des super belles conf en anglais et sont « fluent » quoi ! Donc il y a vraiment une échelle incroyablement diversifiée, je crois que ça a vraiment des répercussions sur la carrière du chercheur, vraiment. Moi, j'ai une anecdote où l'anglais c'était vraiment pas ma tasse de thé, j'avais fait allemand première langue et j'étais à un congrès pour présenter un poster et il y avait la sommité du sujet qui s'arrête devant mon poster et qui commence à discuter et je ne comprenais..., c'était un américain en plus, je comprenais un mot sur quatre quoi. J'éprouvais une frustration mais, colossale quoi en fait parce que je pouvais pas lui dire « j'comprends pas », il me donnait sûrement des conseils super intéressants, des remarques ... et c'est une des plus grandes frustrations scientifiques de ma vie, ce poster, c'était en tout début de carrière et ça m'a aidé ensuite à dire : bon... il faut absolument dépasser ça, quoi !

Int : Does anything change in your working relationship with doctoral researchers because of the language you use together, maybe linked to your own anecdote?

Julie : Quelque part, j'ai envie de dire, presque. Si c'est en anglais, ça va être plus pro parce que notre marge de discussion d'autres sujets est un peu restreinte, en fait, et quelque part, on va être beaucoup sur... beaucoup sur le travail quoi, les sujets professionnels, je veux dire il y aura peut-être moins de discussions périphériques sur d'autres choses que le

Int : OK, so you might find there's a bigger distance between you?

Julie : peut-être pas une distance, mais en tous cas une opportunité de... d'échanger sur autre chose moindre.

Int : So the time spent is spent on professional discussion not anything else?

Julie : Oui, très peu d'autres choses en tous cas.

Int : Ok. And there was one other question, which is do you actually teach specific language skills to the doctoral researchers or speakers of other languages that are researchers here? Either in English or French.

Julie : Non, non. Mais par contre, quand j'étais à la direction, vraiment j'ai essayé de, sentant que ce frein de l'anglais était vraiment crucial, j'ai vraiment essayé de...et que la formation permanente ne proposait pas des choses qui ne faisaient pas « sauter le verrou » on va dire, donc d'imaginer des stages en immersion à Jersey et tout et depuis la formation permanente a repris la formule. Donc en fait, on partait quelques jours à Jersey. Donc en fait, je les ai encouragés vraiment à se former en anglais mais par des moyens un peu plus radicaux que une heure par semaine ou...et de faire venir quelqu'un, des personnes anglophones ici pour échanger et travailler directement sur leurs articles, leurs conférences donc c'est comme ça que ça a commencé. Mais je n'ai pas enseigné moi-même ni français ni anglais.

Int : Ok, well, thank you very much

My translation:

Int : So, good morning. Erm, could you tell me about a typical day and the languages you use and with whom, spoken and written?

Julie : Euh, I do a lot of work on projects though Skype, so the language used really depends on the type of document that I'm writing, either for my research department or scientific articles. It would be in French for administration and English for the scientific aspect and for Skypes, as soon as there is an English-speaking or at least foreign, euh it will be in English. In actual fact, what decides the language is really the participants and the type of work

Int : Ok, so that comes in to my second question, er, a student who comes, for example, at the moment there are Brazilian students here, how do you chose which language to speak with them?

Julie : I will ask them which they prefer, do they understand French do they prefer... how do they prefer we exchange? I'll ask them if they feel more at home, do they wish to progress in French in which case I would speak to them in French slowly and they can reply in English if they please, if it's better for them, so in actual fact we decide together which language is most practical to use and if they ask me to use English, I will speak in English.

Int : And can you think of any situations when the choice of language is imposed?

Julie : In meetings In European projects, it's always in English, the entire meeting, automatically. Euh, when a student arrives and doesn't speak a word of French we don't have any choice, but to speak English at the beginning at any rate. These are the two main situations when it's imposed as we don't have the choice.

Int : So you find that all researchers have a certain level in English ?

Julie : In any case, a minimum to be able to exchange ideas about their work, that is to say a technical English, certainly, that's indispensable.

Int : Ok, so can you tell me how, in your experience, researchers that are speakers of other languages manage to use both English and French for their work. In your experience, what have you seen?

Julie : It's extremely diverse, the scale is very large as a result of, how can I put it, the ease which each person has, or not to speak English. Euh, I know some researchers who are very good scientists who are extremely reticent, who have never been able to overcome this reticence and that will weigh heavily on their career. That is to say that they will choose conferences where they can speak French if possible, in French-speaking countries. They are really not proactive in undertaking conferences in English as it would cost them dearly to do so. So that is really the first step and it's a great shame as it does have an impact on their influence. And on the other hand there are other researchers who have a lot who have done a post doc, who have needed to speak English, to make themselves understood each day and so overcome their apprehension. After that they may have a better or worse accent. Me for example, I no longer have any apprehension, but my accent is not at all good, but I do it as it is necessary. There are also those who are completely at ease speaking English, mastering it really

well, presenting excellent conferences and are 'fluent'! So there is really an incredibly diverse scale that has, I think, important repercussions on the researcher's career, really. I have an anecdote where English was really not my cup of tea, I took German as my first foreign language and I was at a congress to present a poster when the world expert on the subject stopped in front of my poster and started to discuss it and I couldn't understand he was an American and I understood one word in four! I felt amazingly frustrated as I couldn't say to him 'I don't understand', he was undoubtedly giving me very good advice, comments ... and it remains one of the worst scientific frustrations of my life, that poster. It was right at the beginning of my career and it helped me to say : OK, I have to overcome this at all cost!

Int : Does anything change in your working relationship with doctoral researchers because of the language you use together, maybe linked to your own anecdote?

Julie : I feel inclined to say, almost. If it's in English, it will be more professional as the possibilities for our discussion outside this area are limited. In actual fact somewhere along the line we are going to be more on ... a lot on work, professional subjects, I mean they will perhaps be less discussion around other things rather than ...

Int : OK, so you might find there's a bigger distance between you?

Julie : maybe not distance, but at least less opportunity to ... exchange on other subjects. **Int : So the time spent is spent on professional discussion not anything else?**

Julie : Yes, very little on other subjects in any case.

Int : Ok. And there was one other question, which is do you actually teach specific language skills to the doctoral researchers or speakers of other languages that are researchers here? Either in English or French.

Julie : No, no. However, when I was in management I really tried to, feeling that this block with English was really crucial, I really tried to ... and that the permanent training programmes did not offer things that would « open doors » as it were, to imagine intensive training sessions in Jersey and right from the beginning those responsible for the training programmes accepted the idea. As a result we went to Jersey for a few days. So I really pushed them to work on their English using

slightly more radical methods than just one hour a week or As well as bringing English-speakers here to speak and work on their articles, their conferences, and so that's how it all started. But I have not taught French or English myself.

Int : Ok, well, thank you very much

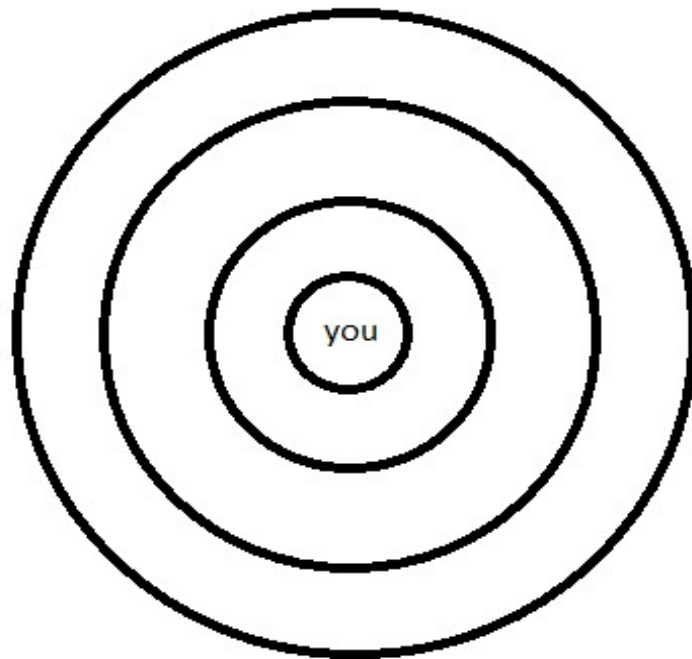
Appendix C - Questionnaires – researchers

Researcher _____

1. What teaching for English have you received previously?
2. Where did you receive the teaching? France or another country?
3. Were the lessons in groups or individual?
4. What aspects of academic writing were covered?
5. Do you consider there to be any differences between presenting information between your own language(s), French and English academic writing?
6. Do you use English other than for academic uses?
7. Which languages do you speak with colleagues on your project?
8. Could you show on this diagram the languages used between you and your colleagues?

Please use,

4. the inner band for those you have the most contact with,
5. the middle for those you have slightly less contact with,
6. the outer circle for more occasional contacts



1. Do you speak any other languages?
2. Do you have any other questions or remarks?

Appendix D - Laboratory observations

The language used on the horizontal line is the language that speaker spoke when addressing the speaker on the vertical line for each room.

Room 1

Speaker 1 – French-speaker

Speaker 2– French-speaker

Speaker 3– Russian-speaker

Speaker 4– French-speaker

Speaker	1	2	3	4
1	x	French	French	French
2	French	x	French	French
3	French	French	x	French
4	French	French	French	x

Room 2

Speaker 1 – French-speaker

Speaker 2– French-speaker

Speaker 3– Portuguese-speaker

Speaker 4– French, English and Portuguese -speaker

Speaker 5 - Portuguese-speaker

Speaker 6 - French-speaker

Speaker	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	x	French	French	-	-	-
2	French	x	French	-	-	-
3	French	French	x	English	Portuguese	-
4	-	-	English	x	English + Portuguese	French
5	-	-		English	x	French
6	-	-		French + English	French	x

Room 3

Speaker 1 – Portuguese-speaker

Speaker 2– French-speaker

Speaker 3– French-speaker

Speaker 4– French-speaker

Speaker	1	2	3	4
1	x	French	French	French

2	French	X	-	-
3	French	-	x	French
4	French	-	French	X

Appendix E - e-mails

Advice to prospective doctoral researchers from their own country

Sure! I could advice [sic] him/her to study French and a little about the French culture before. Two things that I didn't. :p

Abelino

I would say that France is an excellent country to live and work in, but even with a good level of English it is imperative to learn to speak French to get here

because on a daily basis, outside the work environment there is a communication difficulty.

Manon

I would tell the researcher to make sure that he/she can communicate well at least in English, but that would be also desirable to have some basic notions of French, for pratical [sic] questions of everyday life and also to make it even easier to communicate in a profissionnal [sic] context.

Carljos

Hi Mary

if this is a future student that comes for few years, I will advice [sic] to learn French, if this is a young researcher that comes for years of work, I will advice [sic] him to think twice before leave his friends and family.

If this is for short visit, I will advice [sic] him to see some of French seacoasts.

Alex

First of all, I would recommend researchers from Iran to try their chance in English speaking countries! Otherwise, attend French courses at least 1 year before coming to France. However, because the number of academic positions available in France is limited, especially, if you are not good in French, I would not recommend France as a target country for immigrating researchers.

Koroush

1. To be fully involved in the investigation, speak French is crucial.
2. To learn French, one solution is to make French friends or keep listening to French radio or watch the French video. Repeat as much as possible.
3. Presentation skill is very important, no matter you speak French or Chinese or English.

Chao

Appendix F - Interview questions – supervisor

1. Are there any entrance requirements for the students' level in English? If so what?
2. What are your expectations of the students' work in English other than the work for publication?
3. Do you explicitly teach academic writing in English?
4. Do you see assisting students with English as part of your role?
5. Have you received any information or training on teaching academic writing in English?
6. Is there any support for you in this area?
7. What areas do you consider important to study in academic English?

Appendix G - Original themes

H1 Reasons to use English

- ✓ Living in France
- ✓ Working at the institute
- ✓ Speaking to hierarchy
- ✓ Friends outside
- ✓ French lessons
- ✓ E-mails
- ✓ Science
- ✓ Publishing
- ✓ Discussions of the discipline
- ✓ Conferences –papers, posters, networking
- ✓ Teaching science
- ✓ Checking comprehension
- ✓ Writing reports
- ✓ Reading and writing articles
- ✓ Internet
- ✓ Travelling
- ✓ Communicating with other scientists internationally/international cooperation
- ✓ Welcoming international visitors
- ✓ Jokes (only one, Alex)
- ✓ Instructions for equipment
- ✓ Replying to French
- ✓ Whole career
- ✓ Thesis in some instances

H2 Reasons to use French

Except for Carlitos, none had studied French at all prior to their arrival. Koroush views it as an important language.

- ✓ Daily life
- ✓ Any activity outside the institute
- ✓ Shopping
- ✓ Protocols
- ✓ Contact with professionals outside the institute (bank, doctor)

- ✓ In the lab with some staff (support from others in lab if lang barrier - Carlitos)
- ✓ No use professionally for later
- ✓ Personal interest in the language (Carlitos)
- ✓ Personal preference for the language (Chao)
- ✓ Communication in French first (Carlitos)
- ✓ E-mails within institute
- ✓ Listening to the radio (news in French)
- ✓ Breaks at work
- ✓ Friends (only Chao)
- ✓

Would be useful if they were staying in France, but they know this is impossible.

Cong: it's not a part of science. It's not big or large possibility, high possibility to speak French, so compared to learn France I prefer speaking English better.

Alex : In France we use French

- ✓ Administration
- ✓ Speaking with some students/doctoral researchers
- ✓ Very rarely visiting international researchers
- ✓ French-speaking conferences (limited audience)
- ✓ Thesis writing!
- ✓ Thesis summary if written in English
- ✓ Workshops

H3 Language equality and inequality

- ✓ Use of English as the language of teaching for some classes in Brazil
- ✓ Difficulties to follow courses without adequate level in English
- ✓ Impossibility to work as researcher without English
- ✓ However, better prepared for the English than French (lang test for English, not for French)
- ✓ Turkish/Persian inequality for Koroush (accepted)
- ✓ Speaks Turkish with family from habit
- ✓ Exclusion of foreign researchers through French (Cong and Claudine)
- ✓ Predominance of English

H4 Denationalised language vs national language

English (denationalised)

- ✓ Work
- ✓ Science generally
- ✓ Conferences
- ✓ Reading and writing articles (from Masters onwards)
- ✓ International contacts
- ✓ Job interviews

French (national)

- ✓ Daily living
- ✓ Contact with others professionally and socially outside research

H5 Importance of home languages

- ✓ Feelings of ownership of their home languages (eg. Abelino: I think I always will prefer Portuguese because it's my native language.)
- ✓ Reduction in risk of being misunderstood
- ✓ Enjoy using home language with friends and family - telephone, Whatsapp etc (exception Koroush : No, I don't need. I use it when I need it!)
- ✓ Use through habit for Koroush (bilingual)
- ✓ Respect for the eldest person in the group for Alex (bilingual)
- ✓ Choice of home language geographic for Alex (bilingual). Lived in Russian-speaking zone, although mother is Ukrainian-speaker
- ✓ Alex describes Russian as a language of international communication
- ✓ Education generally in Persian for Koroush. Usual in Iran and accepted by Koroush
- ✓ Higher education available in Russian rather than Ukrainian for Alex
- ✓ Home languages used to relax

H6 Family and friends

- ✓ English for international friends
- ✓ Generally use messaging service to keep contact (Whatsapp, wechat)
- ✓ Chao speaks about French-speaking friends
- ✓ Others, no French-speaking friends

✓ Social media contact mainly with home countries

✓ For Chao, main leisure activity

Supervisors

✓ Matteo, Italian friends in town

H7 Social integration

✓ Integration within lab and research group good

✓ Koroush and Alex make language choices in homelands to integrate
(Cong's dialect very similar to Mandarin)

✓ Need to improve accent (Iran)

✓ Need to leave national group

✓ Need to participate in other activities

✓ Learn French

✓ Speak French

H8 Social isolation

✓ No French on arrival

✓ Time to learn French limited

✓ French speaking French between themselves (Abelino : Yes,... yes, yes.
For example, the Brazilian group and the French group and sometimes we
are together, but looks like we are not completely together.)

✓ Everyone communicates in English if necessary for work, but not socially

✓ Cultural differences Abelino 'it's really difficult, keeping the life in a
completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah.' Cong:
'you can't actually erm, enter the French culture'

✓ Accent – poor self-confidence (Koroush)

✓ Exclusion during breaks

✓ Lack of opportunity to join in social events (eg. birthdays)

✓ Staying within national group

✓ Mainly French spoken at student activities, rather than English

Supervisors

✓ Discussions limited to professional activities

✓ Refusal by some members of staff to speak English

✓ Lack of 'warmth' in relationship, Can't joke with the researcher (Claudine) –
questions if the problem is language or culture

- ✓ Not respecting social distance. Inappropriate use of language (even swear words)
- ✓ Limits willingness to interact with others
- ✓ Limits 'emotional' interaction and attachment. No friendship (Josephine)
- ✓ More difficult to comfort the researcher in case of problems
- ✓ Within labs in Italy reduced funding means PhD posts given locally

H9 Migrant identity

- ✓ See isolation above
- ✓ Limited knowledge of French
- ✓ Vocab choice inappropriate, not respecting sociocultural norms in language use.
- ✓ Not using appropriate presentation and style of language (written or spoken)
- ✓ Onus on them to communicate, initiating and maintaining conversation as well as understanding socially and with contacts generally outside the institute
- ✓ Time barrier to learning French
- ✓ Little contact with French-speakers socially
- ✓ Limited use of French at work
- ✓ Some supervisors may help with French for work, but otherwise lack of interaction with French-speakers who talk amongst themselves rather than adapting to teaching for researcher. No automatic right to communication in social context (normal – see Chinese study).
- ✓ Unable to function within what is required (Koroush) due to lack of 'habitus' and lack of information available
- ✓ Accent, can destroy self confidence
- ✓ Feelings of loneliness

Supervisors

- ✓ Different practices 'habitus' – 'Being a mum in Egypt and being a mum in France is very different; it was a very very great cultural shock for her so I don't know if it was the English or the cultural shock that she was confronted by that meant it was less natural at the beginning'
- ✓ Affiliation with speakers of home language
- ✓ Feeling of being outsider (Matteo: for me home, I think it will never be France.)

H10 The use of home languages

- ✓ With other nationals in France
- ✓ Abelino, bank (exceptional)
- ✓ Contact with universities in home country
- ✓ Protocols in home country
- ✓ Possible to use home language to publish, but would limit audience
- ✓ Family and friends
- ✓ Internet generally for entertainment
- ✓ Internet shopping for certain items
- ✓ Social media
- ✓ Reducing social distance (Matteo)

H11 Informal language learning

- ✓ Trial and error both inside and outside the institute
- ✓ Hand movements
- ✓ Google translation (phone)
- ✓ Communicating with others in the lab in French when possible
- ✓ Asking for help from colleagues
- ✓ Checking comprehension with colleagues
- ✓ Creation of own dictionary
- ✓ Reading and writing articles to improve English
- ✓ Writing reports to improve French
- ✓ Thesis writing
- ✓ Spelling and grammar checks on computer
- ✓ English version of instructions for equipment online
- ✓ Listening to French-speakers
- ✓ Listening to the radio
- ✓ Watching television
- ✓ Watching TED talks online

[Supervisors](#)

- ✓ [International collaboration](#)
- ✓ [Mixing with French-speakers](#)

H12 Non-verbal communication competences

- ✓ Pointing, using hands
- ✓ Miming

- ✓ Drawings

H13 Formal language learning

- ✓ French course at university
- ✓ Study French in home country (only Carlitos)
- ✓ All studied English in home countries secondary school and some at uni)
- ✓ No formal teaching by supervisors, corrections given

H14 Feelings towards multilingual needs

- ✓ Positive experience
- ✓ Explores other cultures
- ✓ Improves knowledge about the world
- ✓ Working in the same way as the rest of the world
- ✓ Socially isolating if people use 'home languages' in groups
- ✓ 'Messy place' if people split off into language groups
- ✓ Feeling that it may be more inclusive if everyone speaks English
- ✓ Still preference for home language
- ✓ Less risk of misunderstanding
- ✓ Good level in English, however is essential for them
- ✓ Multilingual group means that there is more chance to speak and learn English
- ✓ Reduces the cultural aspect of English. English as a lingua franca less rich (Chao)
- ✓ Ability to use languages competences = freedom (Koroush)
- ✓ Enjoyment of learning other languages
- ✓ Can create complex situations at times (Manon, gets confused as to which language to use)(Claudine talks about complicated when 'switching')
- ✓ Yann 'loves' multilingual aspect of job
- ✓ Brings different perspective to the research study
- ✓ Brings different perspective for the researcher

H15 Situations that blocked due to language (French, no situations blocked because of English)

- ✓ Phone company
- ✓ Occupational health doctor
- ✓ Occasionally with students or French-speaking doctoral researchers
- ✓ Some minutes of silence Carlitos

- ✓ Protocols
- ✓ Groups speaking together in French
- ✓ First discussion between supervisors (not for doctoral researcher directly)
- ✓ Shopping
- ✓ Using public transport
- ✓ Explanation during an experiment
- ✓ Using lab equipment
- ✓ Celebrations (birthday)
- ✓ Groups speaking French together can block a situation

Reported reasons

- ✓ Words sounding similar to home language, but different meaning (Portuguese)
- ✓ Sounds that are difficult to distinguish

Supervisors (English)

- ✓ Conferences (presenting ideas in presentations and posters)
- ✓ Welcoming foreign visitors

H16 Language aids

- ✓ Approximations with Portuguese or English
- ✓ English (used in French lessons for explanations)
- ✓ English to check understanding at institute
- ✓ Checking instructions for equipment online in English
- ✓ Sometimes similar equipment or protocol, but gives an idea
- ✓ Changing the sentence to make themselves better understood
- ✓ Confirm in French (Manon)
- ✓ Google translation
- ✓ Pen and paper

Supervisors

- ✓ Speaking slowly
- ✓ One speaking French, one English in the same conversation
- ✓ English for clarity
- ✓ Language support reading text on PP slides
- ✓ Monologue rather than dialogue with spoken English

H17 Use of technology

- ✓ Whatsapp
- ✓ WeChat (Chinese)
- ✓ QQ (Chinese)
- ✓ Switchup
- ✓ Facebook
- ✓ Skype (work related)
- ✓ Telephone
- ✓ Voice messenger and video messenger
- ✓ Texting
- ✓ Important tools to keep in contact with family and friends in their home country
- ✓ Google translation
- ✓ Automatic corrections on software
- ✓ Internet explanations of instructions
- ✓ Software not always accurate (Carlitos only)

H18 Language refusal

- ✓ English refusal for some French-speaking doctoral researchers
- ✓ Unlikely to continue French after studies in France (only if they stay in the country)
- ✓ Motivation low as they are unlikely to be able to stay in France after studies
- ✓ Time during studies to learn limited
- ✓ Preference of using time available for language study for English rather than French
- ✓ Belief that English is easier than French
- ✓ Use of French professionally far more limited than English
- ✓ Publishing in English, not French, is required for career to get funding
- ✓ Passing PhD very important culturally –cannot return to China without it
- ✓ Visa requirements make extended stay complex therefore English is made a priority
- ✓ Lab workers refuse English as they feel 3 years in France means they should speak French
- ✓ Impossible legally to ask staff to speak English, or any other language other than French

H19 Language choice

- ✓ Inability to speak, or limited communication competences in another language by one of the speakers
- ✓ One speaking French, one English in the same conversation
- ✓ English imposed professionally outside the institute for all aspects of work
- ✓ Science will be in English
- ✓ French is imposed outside the institute
- ✓ Use French to different degrees in the institute to learn
- ✓ English to check understanding if important
- ✓ Tries to communicate in French first at the institute (Carlitos)
- ✓ Only French possible outside institute
- ✓ French for e-mails
- ✓ Personal choice between speakers (French and Portuguese between 2 supervisors)
- ✓ Agreement between the speakers
- ✓ Only common language between speakers (technicians at the institute)
- ✓ 'we are in France'
- ✓ English used by those who are limited in their communication competences in French (Koroush, Cong)
- ✓ Personal preference (Manon)
- ✓ Need to improve communication competences (English) for later career
- ✓ English for travelling outside France
- ✓ Specific needs (eg. tailoring order online) Cong would use Chinese
- ✓ Home languages for family and friends
- ✓ Habit
- ✓ French with French-speaking friends (Alex and Chao)
- ✓ Respect (Alex and Chao and Matteo)

Supervisors

- ✓ Conferences
- ✓ Meetings with speakers of several different languages ('by default' - Claudine)
- ✓ Extreme personal difficulties with spoken English (Josephine). Cannot be avoided so stays silent – no other solution, English is really imposed in certain situations

H20 Reasons to be in France

- ✓ Work (paid PhD)
- ✓ Personal contact between supervisors (Brazil and France)
- ✓ Will need to use English more than in home country (Cong - China)
- ✓ Good place to come if you are focused on your studies (lack of social life)
- ✓ 'disappointing situation' as regards research in home country
- ✓ Prefers academic approach in France (Matteo)
- ✓ Easier to find funding than other European countries (Matteo)

H21 Stigma

- ✓ Minority language speaker in home country (Koroush) – needed to learn Persian for all education
- ✓ Accent of region and minority language unacceptable in home country
- ✓ View by ticket collectors in Paris
- ✓ Impossibility of Egyptian mother to speak French

H22 Reasons to study abroad

- ✓ To be able to use English more generally than in home country
- ✓ Research work has been undertaken in English in France (researcher hasn't learnt French)

H23 Maintaining languages

- ✓ Alex –nothing

H24 Time constraints

- ✓ French course after work at the institute
- ✓ Need to dedicate themselves to doctoral studies
- ✓ Experiments can go on into the evening or into the night
- ✓ Working trips to other towns (Carlitos 1 month)
- ✓ Unsure if lessons will be interrupted again (down in motivation)
- ✓ Tendency to prioritise English rather than French
- ✓ French classes and homework too time consuming
- ✓ Iran - English at secondary school was 2 hours a week (insufficient)
- ✓ Constraints also limit social activities

H25 Mixing languages

- ✓ Discussions in French, writing in English (Manon)

- ✓ English used by teacher in French classes to teach and communicate with the class
- ✓ Some supervisors requested that questions were in English, but that they could answer in French.
- ✓ Supervisor may speak French and the SA doctoral researcher speaks English, with the idea of the SA doctoral researcher learning and progressively using more French
- ✓ Adapting to person
- ✓ Using English to confirm comprehension in conversation in French

Appendix H - Major themes

I1 Reasons to use English

- ✓ Living in France
- ✓ Working at the institute
- ✓ Making other nationalities feel included
- ✓ Discussing results at the institute
- ✓ Speaking to hierarchy
- ✓ Friends outside
- ✓ French lessons
- ✓ E-mails
- ✓ Science
- ✓ Language tests to be able to study abroad (TOEFL)
- ✓ Publishing
- ✓ Discussions of the discipline
- ✓ Conferences – papers, posters, networking
- ✓ Teaching science
- ✓ Checking comprehension
- ✓ Writing reports
- ✓ Reading and writing articles
- ✓ Thinking
- ✓ Internet
- ✓ Travelling
- ✓ Communicating with other scientists internationally/international cooperation
- ✓ Welcoming international visitors
- ✓ Difficulties understanding Chinese-speakers' accents in French (Manon)
- ✓ Jokes (only one, Alex)
- ✓ English for international friends
- ✓ Instructions for equipment
- ✓ Replying to French
- ✓ Whole career internationally
- ✓ Thesis in some instances

I2 Reasons to use French

Except for Carlitos, none had studied French at all prior to their arrival. Koroush views it as an important language.

✓ Daily life

✓ Any activity outside the institute

✓ Shopping

✓ Contact with professionals outside the institute (bank, doctor)

- ✓ In the lab with some staff (support from others in lab if lang barrier - Carlitos)
- ✓ Most report difficulties to work in lab with no French (Cong the only one to not use any French)
- ✓ Protocols
- ✓ No use professionally later
- ✓ Personal interest in the language (Carlitos)
- ✓ Personal preference for the language (Chao)
- ✓ Communication in French first (Carlitos)
- ✓ E-mails within institute
- ✓ Listening to the radio (news in French)
- ✓ Breaks at work

Confirming message (Manon only)

- ✓ Friends (only Chao)

Would be useful if they were staying in France, but they know this is impossible.

Cong: it's not a part of science. It's not big or large possibility, high possibility to speak French, so compared to learn France I prefer speaking English better.

Alex : In France we use French

- ✓ Administration
- ✓ Speaking with some students/doctoral researchers
- ✓ Very rarely visiting international researchers
- ✓ French-speaking conferences (limited audience)
- ✓ Thesis writing
- ✓ Thesis summary if written in English
- ✓ Workshops

I3 Language equality and inequality, Denationalised language vs national language and Stigma

- ✓ Use of English as the language of teaching for some science classes in Brazil
- ✓ Difficulties to follow courses without adequate level in English in home countries
- ✓ Impossibility to work as researcher without English
- ✓ However, better prepared for the English than French prior to arriving in France (language test required for English, but not for French)
- ✓ Turkish/Persian inequality for Koroush (views Turkish as first language, accepted by him)
- ✓ Speaks Turkish with family from habit, no political motivation
- ✓ Russian/Ukrainian inequality for Alex (views Russian as first language)
- ✓ Exclusion of foreign researchers through French (Cong and Claudine)
- ✓ Predominance of English globally

English (denationalised)

- ✓ Work
- ✓ Science generally
- ✓ Conferences
- ✓ Reading and writing articles (from Masters onwards)
- ✓ International contacts
- ✓ Job interviews

French (national)

- ✓ Daily living
- ✓ Contact with others professionally and socially outside research
- ✓ Minority language speaker in home country (Koroush) – needed to learn Persian for all education
- ✓ Accent of region and minority language unacceptable in home country
- ✓ View by ticket collectors in Paris extremely negative
- ✓ Impossibility of Egyptian mother to speak French

Although French may be considered threatened by English in the context, other languages may be given an 'inferior' position in the context eg. the Egyptian researcher who was unable to use her own language or English.

14 Home Languages

Importance of home languages, The use of home languages, Family and friends and maintaining languages

- ✓ Feelings of ownership towards their home languages (eg. Abelino: I think I always will prefer Portuguese because it's my native language.)
- ✓ Reduction in risk of being misunderstood
- ✓ Enjoy using home language with friends and family - telephone, Whatsapp etc (exception Koroush : No, I don't need. I use it when I need it!)
- ✓ Use through habit for Koroush (bilingual)
- ✓ Respect for the eldest person in the group for Alex (bilingual)
- ✓ Respect for French-speakers in France (Chao)
- ✓ Choice of home language geographic for Alex (bilingual). Lived in Russian-speaking zone, although mother is Ukrainian-speaker
- ✓ Alex describes Russian as a language of international communication
- ✓ Education generally in Persian for Koroush. Usual in Iran and accepted by Koroush
- ✓ Higher education available only in Russian not in Ukrainian for Alex
- ✓ Home languages used to relax
- ✓ Social media contact mainly with home countries
- ✓ For Chao, contacting family and friends is his main leisure activity

Supervisors

- ✓ Matteo, Italian friends in town
- ✓ Alex –nothing (maintaining languages)
- ✓ With other nationals in France
- ✓ Abelino, bank (exceptional)
- ✓ Contact with universities in home country
- ✓ Protocols in home country
- ✓ Possible to use home language to publish, but would limit audience
- ✓ Family and friends
- ✓ Internet generally for entertainment
- ✓ Internet shopping for certain items
- ✓ Social media

- ✓ Reducing social distance (Matteo)

I5 Language refusal and Language choice

- ✓ English refusal for some French-speaking doctoral researchers
- ✓ Unlikely to continue French after studies in France (only if they stay in the country)
- ✓ Motivation low as they are unlikely to be able to stay in France after studies
- ✓ Time during studies to learn limited
- ✓ Preference of using time available for language study for English rather than French
- ✓ Belief that English is easier than French
- ✓ Use of French professionally far more limited than English
- ✓ Publishing in English, not French, is required for career to get funding
- ✓ Passing PhD very important culturally –cannot return to China without it
- ✓ Visa requirements make extended stay complex therefore English is made a priority

I6 Social integration, Social isolation and Migrant identity

- ✓ Integration within lab and research group good
- ✓ Koroush and Alex make language choices in homelands to integrate (Cong's dialect very similar to Mandarin)
- ✓ Need to improve accent (Iran)
- ✓ Need to mix outside their own group (nationality) whilst in France
- ✓ Need to participate in activities other than studies
- ✓ Learn French
- ✓ Speak French
- ✓ No French on arrival
- ✓ Time to learn French limited
- ✓ French speaking French between themselves (see Chinese corporate study) (Abelino : Yes,... yes, yes. For example, the Brazilian group and the French group and sometimes we are together, but looks like we are not completely together.)
- ✓ Everyone communicates in English if necessary for work, but not socially
- ✓ Cultural differences Abelino 'it's really difficult, keeping the life in a completely different place with a completely different culture, yeah.' Cong: 'you can't actually erm, enter the French culture'

- ✓ Accent – poor self-confidence (Koroush)
- ✓ Exclusion during breaks
- ✓ Lack of opportunity to join in social events (eg. birthdays)
- ✓ Staying within their own national group
- ✓ Mainly French spoken at student activities, rather than English
- ✓ Chao speaks about French-speaking friends
- ✓ Others, no French-speaking friends

Supervisors

- ✓ Discussions limited to professional activities if communicative competences in French reduced
- ✓ Refusal by some members of staff to speak English
- ✓ Lack of 'warmth' in relationship, Can't joke with the researcher (Claudine) – questions if the problem is language or culture
- ✓ Not respecting social distance. Inappropriate use of language (even swear words)
- ✓ Limits willingness to interact with others
- ✓ Limits 'emotional' interaction and attachment. No friendship (Josephine)
- ✓ More difficult to comfort the researcher in case of problems
- ✓ Few outsiders within labs in Italy as reduced funding means PhD posts given locally
- ✓ See isolation above
- ✓ Limited knowledge of French
- ✓ Vocab choice inappropriate, not respecting sociocultural norms in language use.
- ✓ Not using appropriate presentation and style of language (written or spoken)
- ✓ Onus on them to communicate, initiating and maintaining conversation as well as understanding socially and with contacts generally outside the institute
- ✓ Time barrier to learning French
- ✓ Little contact with French-speakers socially
- ✓ Limited use of French at work
- ✓ Some supervisors may help with French for work, but otherwise lack of interaction with French-speakers who talk amongst themselves rather than

adapting to teaching for researcher – not their role. No automatic right to communication in social context (normal – see Chinese study).

- ✓ Unable to function within what is required of them in a situation (Korouh) due to lack of 'habitus' and lack of information available
- ✓ Accent, can destroy self confidence
- ✓ Feelings of loneliness

Supervisors

- ✓ Different practices 'habitus' – 'Being a mum in Egypt and being a mum in France is very different; it was a very very great cultural shock for her so I don't know if it was the English or the cultural shock that she was confronted by that meant it was less natural at the beginning'
- ✓ Affiliation with speakers of home language
- ✓ Feeling of being outsider (Matteo: for me home, I think it will never be France.)

17 Reasons to be in France and Reasons to study abroad

- ✓ Work (paid PhD)
- ✓ Personal contact between supervisors (Brazil and France)
- ✓ Will need to use English more than in home country (Cong - China)
- ✓ Good place to come if you are focused on your studies (lack of social life)
- ✓ 'disappointing situation' as regards research in home country
- ✓ Science studies are considered good
- ✓ Prefers academic approach in France (Matteo)
- ✓ Easier to find funding than other European countries (Matteo)
- ✓ To be able to use English more generally than in home country
- ✓ Research work has been undertaken in English in France (researcher hasn't learnt French)

18 Informal language learning, Formal language learning, Non-verbal communication competences, Time constraints, Language aids and Use of technology

- ✓ Trial and error both inside and outside the institute
- ✓ Hand movements
- ✓ Google translation (phone)
- ✓ Communicating with others in the lab in French when possible
- ✓ Asking for help from colleagues

- ✓ Checking comprehension with colleagues
- ✓ Creation of own dictionary
- ✓ Reading and writing articles to improve English
- ✓ Writing reports to improve French
- ✓ Thesis writing
- ✓ Spelling and grammar checks on computer
- ✓ English version of instructions for equipment online
- ✓ Listening to French-speakers
- ✓ Listening to the radio
- ✓ Watching television
- ✓ Watching TED talks online
- ✓ Generally use messaging service to keep contact (Whatsapp, wechat)

Supervisors

- ✓ International collaboration
- ✓ Mixing with French-speakers
- ✓ Pointing, using hands
- ✓ Miming
- ✓ Drawings
- ✓ French course at university
- ✓ Study French in home country (only Carlitos)
- ✓ All studied English in home countries secondary school and some at uni)
- ✓ No formal teaching by supervisors, corrections given
- ✓ French course after work at the institute
- ✓ Need to dedicate themselves to doctoral studies
- ✓ Experiments can go on into the evening or into the night
- ✓ Working trips to other towns (Carlitos 1 month)
- ✓ Unsure if lessons will be interrupted again (reduction in motivation)
- ✓ Tendency to prioritise English rather than French
- ✓ French classes and homework too time consuming
- ✓ Iran - English at secondary school was 2 hours a week (insufficient)
- ✓ Constraints also limit social activities and so language learning and practice
- ✓ Approximations with Portuguese or English
- ✓ English (used in French lessons for explanations)
- ✓ English to check understanding at institute
- ✓ Checking instructions for equipment online in English

- ✓ Sometimes similar equipment or protocol, but gives an idea
- ✓ Changing the sentence to make themselves better understood
- ✓ Confirm in French (Manon)
- ✓ Google translation
- ✓ Pen and paper
- Supervisors
- ✓ Speaking slowly
- ✓ One speaking French, one English in the same conversation
- ✓ English for clarity
- ✓ Language support reading text on PP slides
- ✓ Monologue rather than dialogue with spoken English
- ✓ Whatsapp
- ✓ WeChat (Chinese)
- ✓ QQ (Chinese)
- ✓ Switchup
- ✓ Facebook
- ✓ Skype (work related)
- ✓ Telephone
- ✓ Voice messenger and video messenger
- ✓ Texting
- ✓ Important tools to keep in contact with family and friends in their home country
- ✓ Automatic corrections on software
- ✓ Internet explanations of instructions
- ✓ Software not always felt to be accurate (Carlitos only)

I9 Feelings towards multilingual needs and Mixing languages

- ✓ Positive experience
- ✓ Explores other cultures
- ✓ Improves knowledge about the world
- ✓ Working in the same way as the rest of the world
- ✓ Socially isolating if people use 'home languages' in groups
- ✓ 'Messy place' if people split off into language groups
- ✓ Feeling that it may be more inclusive if everyone speaks English

- ✓ Still preference for home language
- ✓ Less risk of misunderstanding if English is used in a multilingual group
- ✓ Good level in English, however is essential for them
- ✓ Poor level of some other speakers in English disappointing (Cong)
- ✓ Multilingual group means that there is more chance to speak and learn English
- ✓ Reduces the cultural aspect of English. English as a lingua franca less rich (Chao)
- ✓ Ability to use languages competences = freedom (Koroush)
- ✓ Enjoyment of learning other languages
- ✓ Can create complex situations at times (Manon, gets confused as to which language to use)(Claudine talks about complications when 'switching')
- ✓ Yann 'loves' multilingual aspect of job
- ✓ Brings different perspective to the research study
- ✓ Brings different perspective for the researcher
- ✓ Discussions in French, writing in English (Manon)
- ✓ English used by teacher in French classes to teach and communicate with the class
- ✓ Some supervisors requested that questions were in English, but that they could answer in French.
- ✓ Supervisor may speak French and the SA doctoral researcher speaks English, with the idea of the SA doctoral researcher learning and progressively using more French
- ✓ Adapting to person
- ✓ Using English to confirm comprehension in conversation in French

I10 Situations that blocked due to language (French, no situations blocked because of English)

- ✓ Phone company
- ✓ Occupational health doctor
- ✓ Work related explanations
- ✓ Occasionally with students or French-speaking doctoral researchers
- ✓ Some minutes of silence Carlitos
- ✓ Protocols
- ✓ Groups speaking together in French
- ✓ First discussion between supervisors (not for doctoral researcher directly)

- ✓ Shopping
- ✓ Using public transport
- ✓ Explanation during an experiment
- ✓ Using lab equipment
- ✓ Celebrations (birthday)
- ✓ Groups speaking French together can block a situation

Reported reasons

- ✓ Words sounding similar to home language, but different meaning (Portuguese)
- ✓ Sounds that are difficult to distinguish

Supervisors (English)

- ✓ Conferences (presenting ideas in presentations and posters)
- ✓ Welcoming foreign visitors
- ✓ Lab workers refuse English as they feel 3 years in France means they should speak French
- ✓ Impossible legally to ask staff to speak English, or any other language other than French
- ✓ Inability to speak, or limited communication competences in another language by one of the speakers will impose one language. Only common language between speakers (technicians at the institute)
- ✓ One speaking French, one English in the same conversation
- ✓ English imposed professionally outside the institute for all aspects of work
- ✓ Science will be in English
- ✓ French is imposed outside the institute
- ✓ French is used to different degrees in the institute to learn
- ✓ English to check understanding if important
- ✓ Tries to communicate in French first at the institute (Carlitos)
- ✓ Only French possible outside institute
- ✓ French for e-mails
- ✓ Personal choice between speakers (French and Portuguese between 2 supervisors)
- ✓ Agreement between the speakers
- ✓ 'we are in France'

- ✓ English used by those who are limited in their communication competences in French (Koroush, Cong)
- ✓ Personal preference (Manon)
- ✓ Need to improve communication competences (English) for later career
- ✓ English for travelling outside France
- ✓ Specific needs (eg. tailoring order online) Cong would use Chinese
- ✓ Home languages for family and friends
- ✓ Habit
- ✓ French with French-speaking friends (Alex and Chao)
- ✓ Respect (Alex and Chao and Matteo)

Supervisors

- ✓ Conferences
- ✓ Meetings with speakers of several different languages ('by default' - Claudine)
- ✓ Extreme personal difficulties with spoken English (Josephine). Cannot be avoided so stays silent – no other solution, English is really imposed in certain situations
- ✓ To be more friendly (Matteo)

Appendix I - Participants' comments

Comments from all participants on all the themes were regrouped to make comparisons easier. Here I present a few examples.

The use of English

Abelino : OK, the language that I use for live in France is English. I have difficulties to speak French. At the moment I am student in French, but it's really hard to me, so English every time, in the work and outside with my friends. And typically my day is coming to the institute, working using English with my boss, with the people and during the weekend doing the things that normal people do, drink with friends and everything in English. Every time

The use of French

Cong : er actually, if I have enough time, maybe I will, I will learn in French just like if I will stay here for five years or more, then maybe I will learn in French, but now I just have three years to finish my PhD and you know we always have a lot of experiments and a lot of work to do so, I don't have enough time to learn the French. And besides when I'm back to China err it's not, err it's not a part of science. It's not big or large possibility, high possibility to speak French, so compared to learn France I prefer speaking English better.

Family and Friends

Chao : Yeah. Especially in China, we prefer to keep the relationship between family members. Relatives I should say?

Language aids

Chao : Usually, I bring a pen and paper to help us understand each others and we also use google to search and to help us make an explanation. That could be two efficient way and so, but it depends the condition. uh hum (confirming).

Diana : I understood that it's difficult for me to explain something I can switch in English to be sure that they understood.

Appendix J - Domain Loss

On parallel language use, language policy and terminological infrastructure –
Marita Kristiansen (2013)

- it should be possible to use both the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society and English as languages of science.
- presentation of scientific results in the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society be rewarded.
- instruction in scientific technical language, especially in written form, be given in both English and the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society.
- universities, colleges and other scientific institutions can develop long-range strategies for the choice of language, the parallel use of languages, language instruction and translation grants within their fields.
- Nordic terminology boards continue to coordinate terminology in new fields.
- The Nordic model for a language community and cooperation in the field of language should be highlighted in international contexts

Appendix K - Recommendations

1. The parallel use of languages from the Nordic council.
2. Preparation in communicative competences in French before moving abroad.
3. Future SA doctoral researchers need to be made aware of the emotional challenges they may face as they reconstruct their identities.
4. More collaboration between the two groups of doctoral researchers, possibly working with the SA doctoral researchers' home university and therefore exploiting their language competences.
5. An improved timetable for the French classes adapted to their context and specific needs taking their busy schedule and workload into account.
6. The SA doctoral researchers to arrive at an earlier date than other doctoral researchers prior to starting the doctorate.
7. Towards the end of this initiation time, including the French-speaking doctoral researcher in this project through shared activities.
8. A re-organisation of English lessons to work in groups on social communicative competences for the researchers from various linguistic backgrounds.
9. A discussion with the SA doctoral researcher and other members of staff at the institute of their experiences during this period of their professional development.
10. Discussions on the importance of the opportunity to work together with doctoral researchers, potentially from all over the world

Appendix L - James Coleman permission

Dear Mary

I am honoured that you have found my model useful, and impressed by the way you have adapted it for your own research. I am vary happy to give permission for you to use the model in your study, and I wish you all the very best for your doctorate.

Sincerely
Jim

Jim Coleman
Emeritus Professor of Language Learning and Teaching

